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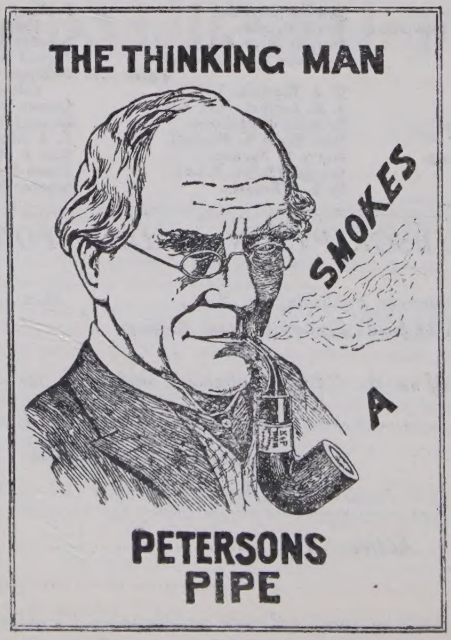

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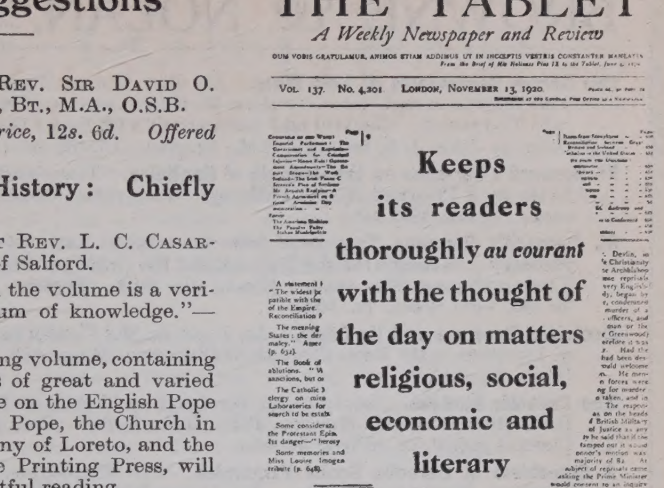
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DIVORCE LEGISLATION IN THE UNITED STATES

BY JOHN A. RYAN, D.D.
Professor of Moral Theology in the Catholic University of America

THIS article does not pretend to be an adequate study of the topic with which it deals. All that is here attempted is to present in outline the most interesting and important facts concerning the institution of divorce in the United States.

During the colonial period, divorces were granted by the courts only in those areas which composed New England. In one or two of the other colonies the bond of matrimony could be dissolved by the legislature, but this power was very rarely exercised. The Constitution of the United States does not give the federal government any general power over the subject of divorce. The Congress of the United States can legislate concerning marriage and divorce only for those parts of the country which have not become States. At present there are only two such jurisdictions, the Territory of Alaska and the federal District of Columbia. All the States of the Union have enacted divorce laws, with the single exception of South Carolina.

The divorce statutes of the various States differ very greatly one from the other. At one extreme is New York which permits dissolution of the marriage bond for only two causes, adultery and a continuous desertion of five years; at the other extreme is the State of New Hampshire with fourteen causes. The State of Washington recognises nine causes, the last of which reads substantially as follows: "or any other cause which the court may in its discretion regard as sufficient." In

the great majority of States the recognized causes for divorce are six: adultery, bigamy, conviction of crimes in certain classes of cases, intolerable cruelty, wilful desertion for two years, habitual drunkenness. In all cases of absolute divorce re-marriage is permitted, but in a few States that right is denied to the guilty party.

The *theory* of the law in all the States is that marriage is a permanent status to be ended only by the death of one of the parties. But the theory also provides that this permanent status can be changed by divorce when the purpose of the marriage relation has been thwarted, by the fault of the guilty party, to such an extent that greater evil will follow from maintaining than from terminating the marriage relation. In theory, divorce is granted only for such causes as are sufficient to defeat the ends for which the marriage was contracted. Almost every element of this curious theory has been set at naught in the State divorce statutes; for some of them refuse to regard, as sufficient, causes which others assume to be destructive of the purpose of marriage. At any rate, the variation among the States in recognizing causes for divorce is an interesting commentary on the different judgments of legislative bodies concerning the "permanence" of the marriage status. As the theory has been applied, it does not include the proposition that marriage is a *permanent* status, but only that it is *more or less* permanent.

The increase in both the absolute and the proportional number of divorces which has taken place in the United States in the last two decades is notorious. Here are some of the outstanding figures:—

In 1890 there were 53 divorces per 100,000 of population.

In 1916 there were 112 divorces per 100,000 of population.

In 1922 there were 136 divorces per 100,000 of population.

To state the increase in another way :—

In 1890 there were 13 marriages for each divorce.
In 1916 there were 9.3 marriages for each divorce.
In 1922 there were 7.3 marriages for each divorce.

As we might expect, the divorce rate varies greatly among the different States. In 1922 Nevada had only .9 of a marriage for each divorce ; the ratio in Oregon was 2.6 ; in Wyoming 3.9 ; Kansas 5.7 ; Indiana 5.4 ; New Hampshire 7.5 ; Kentucky 6.7 ; Illinois 6.8. The best record, or rather the least deplorable, is held by the District of Columbia with 35.8 marriages to one divorce. The next place is occupied by New York with 22.6 marriages to one divorce. Turning our attention for a moment to smaller political divisions, we find that in 1921 four counties in Oregon had more divorces than marriages, and one of these counties maintained that condition for four years.

At one time Japan had the highest divorce rate in the world, namely, 140 per 100,000 of population. This was only 4 per 100,000 above the figure which was attained in the United States in 1922. In view of the increase which took place in the United States between 1916 and 1922 (from 112 to 136) it is safe to say that our divorce rate in the year 1924 is worse than the worst record of Japan.

It may be of interest to compare the rate in the United States with that of some countries where divorce is rare. In 1904 the rate in England was 2 per 100,000 of population ; in France, 28 ; in Germany, 18 ; in Norway, 8 ; in Finland, 5.

Some other statistics are worth noting. In the United States the proportions of divorces granted to the husband and wife respectively have not varied greatly in the last 35 years. In 1889 almost 65 per cent. were obtained by the wife. That proportion has increased slightly but rather steadily until to-day it is about 70 per cent. These figures directly contradict the assumption some-

times made that the institution of divorce is to the advantage of the stronger sex. That assumption may be true when all the incidents, the long-run effects as well as the immediate circumstances, are considered. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that the women take advantage much oftener of the opportunities presented by our divorce laws for dissolution of their matrimonial relations. Possibly the husbands are more often to blame than the wives for the creation of those conditions which the law recognizes as sufficient for divorce. There is, however, another explanation: "In this country, in recent years, a feeling has undoubtedly grown up that if the separation of husband and wife becomes imperative, chivalrous motives should prompt the husband to permit the wife to institute divorce proceedings. It is realized that, socially speaking, a man who appears as defendant in a divorce case is injured far less than a woman is, and the general acceptance of this idea has had a great influence on litigation." [1]

Another interesting statistical statement is that 62 per cent. of divorced couples in the United States had no children. This seems to be important testimony to the effect that children have in preventing parents from seeking to annul the marriage bond. Probably it also testifies to the intention of many couples at the time of the marriage to get a divorce upon slight provocation. Hence, they took care not to be encumbered with children. The economic independence of women is shown in the fact that in 1916 about three-fourths of those who were granted divorces did not ask for alimony: that is, sought no support from the husbands. Among the causes of divorce in that year drunkenness was least, operating in 3 per cent. of the cases; "neglect to provide" was accountable for 6 per cent. while the two causes which ranked highest were "cruelty" at 33 per cent. and desertion at 37 per cent. The last cause does not stand

[1] William E. Carson: *The Marriage Revolt*, p. 141.

in need of explanation, but "cruelty" receives a very elastic interpretation in the divorce courts, being in most instances synonymous with "incompatibility of temper."

Despite the laxity and even frivolity which characterize many of our State divorce statutes, and despite the fact that the law does not recognize matrimony as a sacrament, the marriage relation is not a mere civil contract. A civil contract can generally be ended by mutual consent. In none of our States is this possible with marriage. In fact, all our divorce proceedings assume that one of the parties opposes the suit brought by the other. Hence where "collusion" comes to the notice of the court, that is, when it becomes evident that the party against whom the action is brought is somehow co-operating with the plaintiff, the court generally refuses to grant the divorce. The difference between the marriage relation and that of a contract is thus summarized by a prominent legal authority :—

> Because the parties cannot mutually dissolve it; because an act of God incapacitating one to discharge its duties will not release it; because there is no accepted performance that will end it; because a minor of marriageable age can no more recede from it than an adult; because it is not dissolved by failure of the original consideration; because no suit for damages will lie for the non-fulfilment of its duties; because legislation may annul it at pleasure; and because none of its other elements are those of contract, but are all of status.

What is the attitude of the American people toward our scandalous divorce theories, laws and practices? What may be called the "social" attitude seems to be accurately described in the following paragraph by a well-known woman author in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, 1923 :—

> I fancy it is still true that, in most sections of America, the fact that a man or a woman has been divorced—especially if he or she has remarried—is something to be set down, until further information comes in, on the debit side of the account. In some American

worlds, people have achieved a state of mind in which one's divorce is of no more moral significance than the colour of one's eyes ; but these worlds are still few, and, in comparison, small. The prejudice is lessening all the time ; and I wonder if there is left any group of individuals, large enough to count as a social group, which does not know and receive and like certain divorced and remarried people. I fancy not. Yet it can still be said, I think, that divorce, as such, is looked at askance. Most people, if pinned down, would probably say that in their opinion certain circumstances justified divorce absolutely, but that promiscuous and light-minded divorcing shocked them. A good many people, too (apart from Roman Catholics, I mean), draw a definite distinction between a divorce which is a mere legal separation and a divorce with remarriage.

The attitude of the churches is pretty well known, at least in its more general phases. The Catholic Church, of course, opposes all divorce. The Protestant Episcopal denomination clings fairly well to the traditional Anglican position that divorce should be granted only for adultery. Sometimes a clergyman of that denomination disregards the tradition and performs a marriage ceremony where one of the parties has been divorced for some other cause. But such conduct is generally condemned by the church authorities. All the other denominations approve, or at least permit, annulment of the marriage bond for more than one cause, and as a rule their ministers do not hesitate to officiate at marriages, one of the parties to which has obtained a legal divorce in any State for any cause recognised as valid in that State. It is true that a considerable number, apparently an increasing number, of non-Catholic clergymen are raising their voices against the divorce evil ; but I am not aware that any of the non-Catholic denominations, outside of the Protestant Episcopal, have taken a very decisive official stand. So far as I know, none of them has officially defined or proposed a list of causes which would be small in number as compared with the causes recognised in our more lax statutes.

Of course, there is a great number of individual

outside of the Catholic Church who are alarmed by the great increase in divorces. These include clergymen, lawyers, physicians, social workers and representatives of other important groups in our population. Perhaps the most significant manifestations of this general feeling of alarm are seen in the proposal for a uniform divorce law, drawn up by the Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws some three years ago, and in the proposal for an amendment to the federal Constitution giving Congress exclusive legislative power over marriage and divorce. A bill for a constitutional amendment was introduced in Congress early in the present year. The Senate Committee having charge of the measure held some public hearings, at which a considerable number of prominent persons spoke in favour of the proposal. However, it is not likely that the amendment will become a part of the Constitution within the next ten or fifteen years.

The most significant aspect of the proposed uniform law for all the States is the number of causes which it sets forth as sufficient for divorce. It is to be kept in mind that those who drew up this uniform bill were eager to reduce, so far as practicable, the causes for and number of divorces in the country. Nevertheless, they thought it necessary, or desirable, to include five causes, namely—adultery, extreme cruelty, habitual drunkenness, whether arising from drugs or drink, conviction of felony, and continuous desertion for a number of years which the Committee did not agree upon. The same causes are apparently approved by the advocates of a constitutional amendment. Should the amendment be adopted and Congress proceed to enact a divorce law for the whole country the legislation would, in all probability, include all these causes.

Summing up the public attitude towards divorce in the United States, we may say that while the evil is arousing a steadily-increasing amount of attention and

concern, it has not yet so alarmed the dominant element of the population that anything like a considerable reform or a rigid divorce law is within the realm of probability. A uniform law permitting divorce for the five causes specified above would still produce the highest divorce rate in the world except that of Japan.

The Committee which drew up the proposed uniform law for the States included in its recommendations some important improvements in procedure. They recommended that no divorce should be granted to any person who had not been a resident of the State in which the action was brought for a considerably longer time than is now sufficient in some of our more lax jurisdictions. Another recommendation was that no divorce should be granted unless the defendant actually appears in court. On the other hand, the Committee failed to recommend for all cases a waiting period between the granting of a divorce and the re-marriage of either party. This failure is very significant testimony to the laxity of the public attitude on the whole subject of divorce. A few of the State laws forbid a second marriage within one year after the divorce. This is obviously a very considerable discouragement to a certain class desiring to sever the marriage bond. Yet the Committee did not feel justified in urging its adoption upon all the States.

Undoubtedly the main reason for the infrequency of divorces in England is the very high cost of the judicial process. An undefended divorce suit entails an expense of about 50 pounds, while in an action which is opposed the cost ranges from 70 pounds to 500 pounds. In recent years there has been considerable agitation in Great Britain for cheaper divorce proceedings in the interest of the poor. In the United States there is little or no complaint on that score. A divorce action is relatively no more costly to the poor person than it is to the rich person. That is to say, the poor person is at no greater disadvantage as compared with the rich person

in a divorce action than in any other court proceeding.

The effects of our lax divorce laws and procedure constitute obviously a most interesting and important subject. Nevertheless, they are extremely difficult to describe either accurately or concretely. Here is one example of a concrete statement. In the year 1921, 30 per cent. of the children who were brought into the Juvenile Court of Portland, Oregon, on account of misconduct were the offspring of divorced parents. This percentage is probably three to five times as great as it should have been when we consider the proportion which divorces bear to marriages and the proportion of divorced couples who have no children. Probably the figure given above does not differ materially from that which obtains in most of our large cities. Its significance as an evil effect of divorce is somewhat lessened, however, when we reflect that the children of parents who have been judicially separated, not absolutely divorced, would probably be in an equally bad condition. Hence the Portland experience is about equally valid as an argument against limited separation.

Some of the more general and less concretely measurable effects of frequent and easy divorce are those that might antecedently be expected. Among them are a general weakening of the sense of sin or crime regarding illicit sexual relations. When an easy court process and formality render regular and permissible a new sexual relation, it is very easy for men and women to assume that other causes and excuses may be sufficient to justify entering such relations. Why wait for a divorce? To put it in another way: why is simultaneous polygamy any worse than successive polygamy? Again, the realisation that divorce is easily obtained, impels many persons to enter upon hasty marriages which end in divorce, but which would not be contracted at all if divorce did not offer an easy way of correcting a mistake. The

facility with which divorces are obtained frequently prevents married couples from composing differences which would readily disappear if divorce were impossible. When such persons form new unions they very often find the same differences reoccurring and learn too late that they are more or less inevitable in the marriage state. Divorce has increased rather than diminished their difficulties.

As noted in an earlier paragraph, there is one State which has never granted a divorce, that is South Carolina. Despite the bad example set by many of the other States, the people of South Carolina seem to be satisfied with their own law. Following is a paragraph written some ten years ago by Benjamin Ryan Tillman, who for many years was a distinguished representative of South Carolina in the Senate of the United States :—

> The absence of a divorce law in South Carolina is a matter of great pride with us. I know of no other principle so firmly fixed in the affections of the people. South Carolina, as you probably know, is ultra-Protestant in her religion, but she looks on the marriage relation with the same reverence as does the Catholic Church. Practically, if not theologically, marriage is with us a sacrament, and the curse of the whole State would fall on the man or set of men who should dare to make it less. You ask if the absence of a divorce statute conduces to morality. Unqualifiedly, I answer, it does. Our women—God bless and keep them in His holy care—are the fairest and best I have ever known, and as long as our men realize that to each of them is given one and only one woman, just so long will they see to it that purity and chastity continue to prevail. A South Carolinian cannot say, ' I will marry this woman now, and if she is not the right kind, I will divorce her.' He must make sure beforehand, and he, therefore, demands that his woman be pure and above reproach. For the same reason, *viz.* the absence of divorce, the women know that the men demand that they be pure and innocent, and they meet the demand. Of course, not all men nor all women reason the matter out, but the effect is the same as if they did. Consciously or unconsciously and

largely because of the absence of divorce, South Carolina men tell their women :

> 'Bear a lily in thy hand,
> Gates of brass cannot withstand
> One touch of that magic wand—'

and South Carolina women obey, and happy homes and families are the result.

While it would be impertinent for a foreigner to offer any suggestion to the legislators of the Irish Free State on the question of establishing legal divorce, I cannot refrain from submitting this consideration. Any law which conceivably could pass the Free State Parliament would inevitably be pretty strict. The number of divorces obtainable under it would be extremely small. In other words, only an insignificant percentage of the population could obtain any relief (?) or benefit (?) under the divorce law. This being the case, why enact any such legislation ? In these circumstances a divorce law would not be for the *common* good ; it would serve the interests of only a very few. That is not in harmony with the democratic ideal. It is rather the philosophy of privilege. On the other hand, if the law made provision for liberal divorce the temptation would inevitably be toward greater laxity, at least for a considerable time, until the bad effects of the legislation became intolerable. Leaving out of account the teaching of the Church and considering only the social and political aspects of the question, we seem to be justified in asserting that there is no such thing as a rational system of absolute divorce.

John A. Ryan.

IRISH LAND TENURES: CELTIC AND FOREIGN

BY W. F. BUTLER, M.A., M.R.I.A.

PART II [1]

IN my previous article I endeavoured to show the essential points of difference between the system of land tenure known as feudal and that which prevailed up to the opening of the seventeenth century in Gaelic Ireland. I dealt chiefly with the relations between the landholder and the sovereign, and only incidentally with the relations of the landholders with one another, and with the descent of property in land.

For this purpose I found it convenient to begin with Wales for the following reasons: In the case both of Ireland and of Wales we have Codes of Law giving us, amongst other things, the theory of Land Tenure. And in both countries we have various documents, which we may call by the general name of "Surveys," giving us actual facts about the land and its occupiers. Now, the Welsh Codes date traditionally from the days of Howel the Good, who reigned over most of Wales in the days of Athelstan of England, dying in 950 A.D.; and the Irish Codes are traditionally ascribed to the time of St. Patrick, some five hundred years before. On the other hand the Surveys begin for Wales with the year 1280, before the "conquest" by Edward I.; and several of later date refer explicitly to things as they were "in the time of the Princes"; while our Irish Surveys, with one or two exceptions, date from the late 16th and early 17th centuries; that is, they are nearly three centuries later in date than those for Wales.

Now, it happens that, widely as the dates differ, the

[1] For Part I see issue of June, 1924.

Surveys of Ireland show a state of things existing among the Gaels almost exactly similar to that existing three hundred years before among the Cymri. Further, it happens that the Welsh evidence is much more minute. The surveyors tell us that such and such lands are held by the " progenies " of so and so ; and then give the " weles " of his sons, the " gavells " of his grandsons, and finally the individual holders, *i.e.*, the great-grandsons [1]

So that, on the one hand, it seems fairly safe to argue that conditions in Wales were very similar to those in Ireland ; and, on the other hand, our Welsh sources of information are more copious ; and the dates of the Surveys and the Codes are much nearer to one another than is the case in Ireland.

Mr. Seebohm, in the *Tribal System in Wales*, takes first the evidence as to facts presented by the Surveys ; he compares these facts with the theories laid down in the Codes ; and he finds that facts and theory correspond. So I proceed from the known to the unknown : I begin with Wales, and then compare Ireland.

Another great advantage when one deals with Wales is the fact that Latin, as well as Welsh, versions of some of the Codes exist. It is possible, indeed, that the Codes were first written down in Latin. The consequence is that we often get Latin terms, of which the precise meaning is known, and which help us to arrive at the meaning of Welsh technical terms.

There is need, of course, to distinguish. Behind Welsh society and Welsh law lie four centuries of Roman rule. The Welsh kings were successors of Roman magistrates, if not of the Emperor himself. They were from the

[1] The Irish Surveys and Inquisitions were taken for purposes which did not necessitate any enumeration of the actual occupiers of the land, or any details as to their status. We are told that such and such lands are liable for such and such payments, and these lands are often grouped under the heading of the particular sept or subject clan which held them. Hence, we can construct clan maps ; but we never get the names of individuals.

beginning real monarchs wielding executive power, the source of law, the supreme judges. Down to the very last days of Welsh independence this feature of Welsh sovereignty survived.

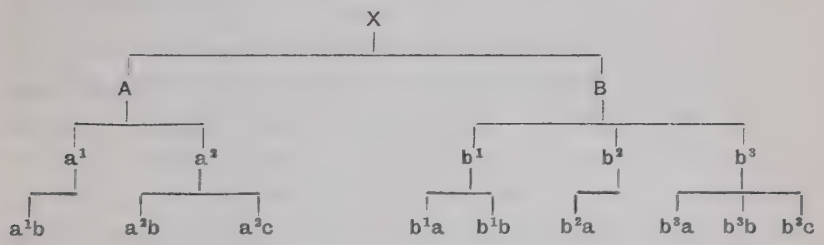
The theory, inextricably mixed up with feudal institutions, that ownership of land and political rights went together, the whole complex of immunities, exemptions, etc., by which the feudal baron got into his hands rights of justice, rights of coinage, rights of making laws, to the virtual exclusion of the Royal power, does not meet us in Wales. No doubt, two centuries of feudalism across the ever-shifting Cymric border brought in some of these ideas. In South Wales every Uchelwr was a judge in certain courts. The later Princes had rights to escheats, something on feudal lines. But Welsh kingship was a political sovereignty, in no sense based either on the King being the one real landowner of the whole country, or on his being the senior representative of the original tribal stock.

And, as I have said before, there was no "clan system" in Wales. The phrase clan system has, I know, been very loosely used; and Dr. MacNeill objects to it. The clans as we know them in the Scottish Highlands are a very late development; and it does not follow that Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic Ireland had institutions in every way identical. But, leaving words aside, we find in fifteenth and sixteenth century Ireland a tendency for the bearers of a common surname to break off, as far as their power allowed, from all dependence on those bearing another surname. This we do not find in Wales.

Yet, allowing for all differences, I know of hardly any more striking experience in antiquarian research than to read the last chapter of Dr. MacNeill's *Celtic Ireland*—the chapter called the Family Commune—and then to turn to the Denbighshire Surveys printed in Seebohm's *Tribal System in Wales*. What Dr. MacNeill rather hesitatingly puts forward, on p. 161 and the following pages,

as being the true explanation of the "five persons" of the *Geilfhine* and the "nine persons" of the *Derbfhine*, namely, that by five or nine persons we are to understand heads or categories under which the persons are classified, seems at once to leap to our eyes as the true explanation when we study the details of the actual family groups of landholders which the Surveys bring before us.

To illustrate the working of the Welsh system and to contrast it with the English let us take the following example. Let us suppose a landowner whom we may call X, assign to him two sons A and B, and give each of them descendants as shown in the chart below; and then let us see how the land would normally descend according to the Common Law of England, and then according to the Law of Wales



By English law there is no difficulty. When X dies his eldest son A succeeds to all the land, and he is succeeded in turn by a^1, who is succeeded by a^1b. And if a^1b has no son, the land passes, unless there is an express limitation to males, to his daughter. If he has neither son nor daughter, it goes to a^2b. The land passes entire from eldest son to eldest son. B and his posterity have no rights as long as there remain descendants of A. Now, let us see what would happen in Wales. When X dies, his two sons A and B divide the land equally. In practice there is probably no actual physical division; the profits of the land are divided. A is head of the family, with a certain amount of authority over his sons, his brother, and his nephews.

A dies, leaving two sons. They share equally their father's share, that is each is entitled to one-fourth of the original estate. In practice they do not divide; or, if they do, the division is only a temporary one. B becomes head of the family group.

B then dies, leaving three sons. Two things happen. The eldest son of A normally becomes head of the family; but there is a new division of the land into five equal shares, between the grandsons of X. So the two sons of A are reduced from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{5}$ of the land or of its profits. As long as any of the five grandsons is alive there is no redivision. As each in turn dies his sons "ascend" to his place; and the headship of the family passes along the line of the grandsons.

Now, let us suppose all the five grandsons are dead, leaving between them nine sons, all great-grandsons of X. These nine now take equal shares of the original holding. But we see that they fall into two groups, the grandsons of A and those of B. The division as between these is final, that is to say the sons of the grandsons of A have no claim against the share of the grandsons of B, and *vice-versa*. But the grandsons of A being first cousins have still rights as against one another; and so have those of B. Two gwelys have now been formed, that of A and that of B, sometimes called the *gwely weiryon* A or B, *i.e.*, the gwely of the grandsons of A or B. When all the grandsons of A are dead their sons will divide and form two new gwelys, those of a^1 and a^2, and similarly we shall have three gwelys of the descendants of B, namely, the gwelys of b^1, b^2, and b^3. And so when a new generation has grown up and the older ones are dead, we might conceivably have nine gwelys, dividing among them the land originally owned by X.

There arises a question: what happens if one of the nine great grandsons of X dies without a son? If he dies before the final division his share passes for the moment to his brother or, in default, to his uncle or first cousin;

but the final result will be that the holding of X will be divided into eighths instead of ninths. If he dies after the final division between the great grandsons of X what happens is more obscure. Possibly, all of his share goes to his brothers or, failing them, to his first cousins ; possibly, some goes to them, and a smaller proportion to his second cousins. If he has neither brother nor first cousin, his share is divided among his second cousins. At the time of the Denbigh extent, when Welsh law had been somewhat modified by Anglo-Norman usages, no rights of inheritance were recognised beyond second cousins : the land then escheated to the lord. But by pure Welsh law it is probable that the wider kindred inherited, up to the limits of the seventh or ninth generation from the common ancestor.

Salient features in this Welsh system of inheritance are :—

1. The subdivision of the original estate among all the male descendants, in contrast with the English system by which it would have passed undivided from eldest son to eldest son.
2. The periodical redistributions, occurring at the extinction of each generation, such redistributions being more probably a redistribution of profits rather than a physical partition of lands.
3. The fact that, at any given moment, the proper share of any of the kinsmen could be at once determined.
4. The fact that such shares could most easily be expressed by a series of fractions.
5. The cessation of mutual rights of inheritance beyond the degree of second cousin.

To develop some of these points a little further. Both Spencer and Sir John Davies draw attention to the

effect in Ireland of this subdivision of property; and the former expressly compares the Irish and the Welsh: "all the Irish almost boast themselves to be gentlemen no less than the Welsh"; while Davies says: "Every man being born to land, they all held themselves to be gentlemen." Seebohm prints a very curious illustration. The villata of Prees was held by six kindreds or gwelys. Each paid one-sixth of the tunc pound to the prince, *i.e.*, three and four pence each. It is unlikely that the land could have been so accurately divided into six parts of equal value; so it would appear that the six gwelys held undivided shares, each taking one-sixth of the profits. The actual representatives of one gwely numbered fifty-two individuals, who between them were liable for the three and four pence of *tunc*. Four of the others had seventy-four representatives. Details of the sixth are not printed. So one *villata*, which in England would probably have been the estate of a single man, was divided among some 130 free Welsh landowners.

Each man knew what his share of the profits should be. The land itself, except for the houses and their adjacent plots, was probably tilled or grazed by all in common. The exact share of each member of a kindred varied as the numbers of that kindred increased or decreased. And this is just what English observers say was the practice in Ireland in the sixteenth century.

Then, as to the expression of each man's rights by means of a series of fractions, we find this in our printed Records. Instances can be found, relating to Wicklow lands, in the printed volume of Inquisitions "Lagenia" and in the Patent Rolls (James I.), and in the latter case relating to Connaught also. These latter indeed show us the existence in Connaught, about the year 1615, of what we may call a peasant gentry. There is page after page of grants of small areas of not more than thirty or forty acres to persons invariably described as "gentlemen," and these areas are often described as being fractions of larger areas. That is to say, the "Family Commune"

has been broken up, and its members appear as owners in severalty of minute properties. This is exactly what would have happened had the 130 landowners of Prees taken each his separate share of land.

There are difficulties, of course, in the way of our accepting without question the foregoing explanation of the descent of landed property through four generations. One writer of great authority in research, W. M. Flinders Petrie, actually takes the Welsh system to have been that a man was able to transmit his land only as far as to his great grandchildren ; and that, on their death, the land reverted into the common stock until granted out to a new owner by the Prince or by the people.

The Welsh Codes, too, seem to contemplate actual division among brothers on the death of their father, and only optional division among first and second cousins.

And, no matter what explanation we take, there is always the difficulty about X, the first of our four generations. How did he come to hold land in severalty ? Had all his male relatives, up to and including his second cousins, been killed by the Saxons, or had they died of plague ? If not, he must have formed only a unit in some kindred or other.

Naturally, we have from time to time, both in Ireland and in Wales, the case where the King gave to a son or nephew, as an estate to himself and his posterity, a portion of the land over which the King had the power of disposal. Such cases are common in Ireland. In this way the thirty or more septs of the great MacCarthy house arose. In Wales, too, they were frequent. But we find no pretence that the bulk of the landowners in Wales were offshoots from the royal stock.

How then can we get the landowner X ? My answer is that in Ireland we do not appear to get him at all, except when he is the younger son of a ruling chief, or when some catastrophe has cut off all his relatives.[1] In

[1] We find an actual case in South Wales where the Royal stock was reduced to one single male representative, Rhys ap Tudor. And the last Mac Carthy Mór had no kinsmen on the male side nearer than fourth cousins.

spite of the elaborate statements in Joyce and other writers as to individuals holding private property in land, I find scarcely a trace of such individuals in sixteenth century Ireland. The land is held by family groups. Such groups English officials in Tudor times designate under the title "the septs of the freeholders." In the Genealogy of Corca Laidhe printed in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society, and apparently dating from before the Norman invasion, we find the expression *Dúchusaich*, which O'Donovan translates as "hereditary proprietors."[1] This seems to be exactly equivalent to the Welsh *priodorion*, the free landowners.

In the award dividing Bere and Bantry between the rival claimants, Donnell and Sir Owen O'Sullivan, we have an enumeration of the various freeholders whose rents, services, duties, etc., were divided. In only one case is there any mention of an individual as holding land, and the person named, Dermod O'Sullivan, of Ballaghboy, is very probably, though I cannot be certain of the point, an elder brother of Sir Owen's and Donnell's father, born out of wedlock, and provided with a grant of land to compensate for his exclusion from the succession to the Lordship. Had things gone on normally in Bere and Bantry, we would have heard in the next generation or two of the "sept" of this Dermod, just as we hear of the issue of Fineen Duff, of the issue of the son of Mac Bwogy and other O'Sullivan septs.

Individual ownership, and plenty of it, appears in the next generation, as shown by the Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I. Grant after grant mentions such and such lands, lately in the tenure of so and so slain in rebellion. But the parcels mentioned are often small in area and, as I have said, often expressed by a series of fractions. This is just what we should expect when the joint holding of a family group came to be divided up

[1] At any rate the description of the lands of the Corca Laidhe refers to the state of affairs prior to 1170.

among the individuals composing the group; for, as pointed out before, the share due to an individual could be ascertained at any moment, and could be most easily expressed by a series of fractions, and with each generation the share of an individual would normally decrease. As we know, a decision of the judges in the time of James I, while laying down that land in future was to descend according to the Common Law, allowed those actually in possession of land through the working of what they called gavelkind to retain this land. This meant two things: the breaking up of the Family Commune into its component parts, and a stop to any further partitions.

The Welsh law of inheritance, expressly preserved by Edward I, had been done away with by Statute in the days of Henry VIII. The Irish judges apparently did not consider any legislation necessary. But so deeply was the feeling that all sons should inherit, and not the eldest born only, implanted in the Irish, and even in the Anglo-Irish mind, that cases are to be found where great landowners, such as Teige Mac Owen Mac Carthy of Drishane and the Baron of Dunboyne, by settlements made in their lifetime, divided their estates in a manner absolutely contrary to English ideas.

Unfortunately, in Ireland there seems to be a certain vagueness in terminology. We have the word *sliocht*, which seems to be the exact equivalent of the Latin *progenies*. And *progenies* in the Welsh surveys is limited to the descendants as far as the great-grandchildren, and is equated with the *gwely* or *lectum* or *bed*. Or rather, as the great grandfather would usually be no longer alive, his progenies is divided into the *gwelys* or *lecta* of his sons. Elizabethan officials translated *sliocht* by *sept*, a word apparently of Latin origin.

But both *sliocht* and *sept* are vaguely used, and very often denote a political organisation, a branch of a greater clan, with its own sub-chief who has demesne lands, and rents, services, and duties from the inferior members of the

sept, leads them in war, and is often strong enough to defy his superior lord, head of the whole clan. So in Desmond we find Sliocht Owen Mór of Coshmaing, Sliocht Donnell Brick, Sliocht Cormac of Dunguile, all offshoots of the house of MacCarthy Mór, and all in possession of wide territories.

But we also find Clan Donnell Finn, Clan Donnell Roe, Clan Dermod, designating other branches of the Mac Carthys; so that no hard and fast distinction can be drawn between these uses of the words *sliocht* and *clan*. It is probably in this wide sense that Sir John Davies, in his description of Fermanagh, uses the word *sept*.[1] He says that as Maguire himself had a chiefry over all the country, and some demesnes that did ever pass to him only who carried that title, so was there a chief of every sept who had certain services, duties, or demesnes that ever passed to the tanist of that sept, and never were subject to division, and the inferior sort divided their possessions after the manner of gavelkind.

But within the sept, in this larger sense, were the land-owning groups, which Dr. MacNeill treats of in his chapter on the Family Commune. He finds that the word *fine* in its various compounds of Geilfhine, Derbfhine, etc., indicates kinship up to certain degrees; and that the Derbfhine is the group of four generations, that is exactly what we have seen the Welsh land-owning group to be.[2]

The Welsh family group had at its head a pen teulu or head of the household; the Gaelic had a ceann fhine.

[1] A pedigree in Lambeth MSS. of Sliocht Eoghan Mór of Coshmaing shows how Eoghan's descendants split first into the two branches of West and East Coshmaing; the former then split into the lines of Fieries and Cloonmeollane, each of these then split into two. So that by 1590 there were four septs in West Coshmaing alone. But there was but one lord for the *sliocht* as a political whole, including both West and East branches. And we find evidence of shifting or interchange of lands, between the various branches, so that one of the Fieries branches had lands at Lisnegan (Headfort) in East Coshmaing, and the line of East Coshmaing held Molahiffe in the west.

[2] The map of Glanerought in Lambeth shows two denominations, Bonane and Carrowbristie, as held each by a separate sept of the O'Sullivans of Bere. Here sept is used in a definite limited sense.

O'Dunne Lord of Iregan got a "heriot" after the death of every "canfinny," showing that there was a definite known person as head of the family group.

It was only within these groups, limited to four degrees of descent, that the division of property which the English called gavelkind, took place. Professor Mac Neill has pointed out the absurdity of supposing, as some have done, that every time an O'Reilly or Macnamara was born or died a complete reshuffle of all the possessions of some hundreds of persons—there were said to be four hundred horsemen of the O'Reilly surname in the sixteenth century—took place.

What happened if the family group died out ; if there was no one within the degree of second cousin of the last representative ? The Denbigh Extent is explicit. The land escheated to the Lord. But this statement refers to 1335, when an English lord had succeeded the Welsh Prince, and had begun to introduce English feudal law to some extent. In older times the land probably reverted to the wider kindreds of the seventh and ninth degrees of descent of which we hear.

By analogy in Ireland, we may suppose that, when a given family group died out, its heirs were the more distant kinsmen, related to the extinct one as Iarfine and Indfhine. In Elizabethan times we find both O'Brien and MacCarthy Mór claiming that lands of their subjects fell to them "for want of heirs right and legitimate." O'Brien seems to have pressed this claim so as to take possession of the lordship and lands of the O'Conors of Corcomroe, when that family had been almost extirpated by internecine feuds. But it is significant that he got an acknowledgement of his title from some surviving O'Conors.

Mac Carthy Mór claimed the country of "Mac Teige ne Tough," or Sliocht Donnell Brick, as escheated to him for want of heirs right and legitimate.

But, as I have explained more fully elsewhere, we find other Mac Carthy septs, Sliacht Owen Mór, Mac Fyneen,

and Sliocht Cormac of Dunguile in possession of small outlying districts mixed up with lands held at his death by Mac Carthy Mór, a state of affairs which seems to indicate a division of the lands of Sliocht Donnell Brick, some reverting to the head of the whole house, others to some of the kindred septs.

As to communal ownership, of which we hear so much in certain text-books, I can find no trace of it in the sixteenth century. We find two conflicting theories put forward in recent books, according to the political views of the writers. According to one view the state of affairs in Ireland closely resembled the conditions now obtaining among the Bantu tribes of South Africa. There the land belongs to the tribe as a whole; the chief for the moment is a kind of trustee. Each member of the tribe is entitled to a share of the tribal lands; the allocation of this share is in the hands of the chief or of the tribal council. The other view is that the Gaelic chief was in the position of a feudal lord; the rest of the population were his tenants or serfs, in a condition closely resembling that on the great estates in some parts of feudal Europe, before the changes resulting from the French Revolution had come into effect.[1]

Both views to my mind are wrong. There is nothing to show that the great bulk of the population owned each his share of land. Equally, there is nothing to show that the chief was in the position of a landlord over all his subjects. The members of the free landowning kindreds were "all born to land," that is land or a share in it passed to all the male descendants of a landowner. There is, however, nothing to show that each freeman was entitled to a share of land out of the common stock of the "clan," or that any such common stock existed.

We are indeed told that among the privileges of the innate Cymro—the free born Welshman—were five free

[1] Lord E.Hamilton, in a recent work on Elizabethan Ulster, seems to hold this view.

erws (acres). This of course would postulate some common stock out of which the five erws were to come. But the authenticity of this statement is doubted by many authorities.

It is true that when the young Welshman of free blood reached the age of fourteen he passed from his father's authority; and the father was no longer bound to maintain him. He became the man of his "lord" and from that time forth was to be supported by the lord, that is until, on his father's death, he became entitled to a share of the family land. It is not at all clear whether the lord here was the *pen cenedl* or chief of the wider kindred of nine generations, or the political lord. In older days it may have been the former, in later times the latter. We read in Giraldus of the companies of young men who went about the country, and were quartered on the landowners, and the surveys make definite reference to the "support of the youths" as among the burdens on land. But it does not follow that the lord provided the young Welshman with a grant of land. He saw to his maintenance, and perhaps loaned him cattle to be grazed on the family land. In return the youth owed him military service. It must be remembered that the youth, though "born to land," did not succeed to any share of it in the lifetime of his father or grandfather. Only on their death did he "ascend" to their place. So that, in the imaginary pedigree which I have given above, X was the only landed person during his lifetime. All his male descendants had prospective rights of inheritance, but no one really succeeded to his share until his father and grandfather were both dead. In the meantime, apparently the duty of maintaining him fell on the lord, and in return he became the lord's "man."

This approaches very nearly to the feudal relation of lord and vassal. And it seems not to be so very unlike the relation between the Irish *ceile* and the *flaith* or other superior from whom he took stock.

As I have said, however, I can find no trace in sixteenth century Ireland of anything like a common stock of land out of which each man was to get an allotment on reaching a certain age. Nor do I think that every time an O'Brien or O'Sullivan was born, or died, or reached the age of manhood, there was a complete re-shuffling of the whole O'Brien or O'Sullivan lands. Yet many of our text-books seem to imply that this took place.[1]

To sum up. The feudal system of landholding can, at any rate in its broad outlines, be explained in an intelligible way to the ordinary schoolboy. There are many text-books, both of English and of European history, which at least aim at giving a clear picture of the social system which, in the Middle Ages, prevailed over the greater part of Western Christendom. But the case is different when we come to Celtic tenures, the basis of the social system in Gaelic Ireland. Here almost everything is open to dispute. At every step of our investigations we are confronted by difficulties, and we must remember that we are not dealing with a rigid unchanging system. A survey of Gaelic Ireland extends over twelve centuries. During this time there must have been development. Welsh princes, contemporary with William the Conqueror and with Henry II, are said to have added to or modified existing Welsh laws; similar alterations, it is reasonable to suppose, must have taken place in the long interval between the coming of St. Patrick and the Flight of the Earls. Our text-books entirely ignore such a possibility.

There is evidence for at least one great social change, which appears to have taken place some time in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and which may or may not have been due to the Anglo-Norman invasion, a change, namely, in the ownership of landed property, not unlike that which took place in the seventeenth century under Cromwell. Our sixteenth century evidence shows

[1] This seems to be Mr. Orpen's view; but he is only following earlier writers.

us that in many parts of Gaelic Ireland the land had passed into the possession of royal stocks, mostly descended from ancestors who flourished in the twelfth century, and that the older land-owning families had largely disappeared. Thus, nearly half of the area ruled over by Mac Carthy Mór was in Elizabeth's day owned by descendants of Dermod, King of Cork, who was slain in 1185, and whose family at that date had no lands in Cork and Kerry. The same phenomenon meets us in Thomond, where nearly all the sixteenth-century landowners traced their descent to ancestors whom we know to have been persons of consequence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. What in the meantime had become of the descendants of the free landowners whom King Brian had led to battle ? The " Genealogy of Corca Laidhe " gives the names of seventy-six land-owning families who held under O'Driscoll prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion a district corresponding to the present diocese of Ross. In the sixteenth century the lands still under O'Driscoll were held almost entirely by persons of his own surname ; and one-half of the territory of Collymore was in the hands of the Chief as demesne. Of the families mentioned as landowners in the twelfth century not half-a-dozen had survived as landowners. How did this come about ? We do not know.

Our text-books, then, when they treat of the Irish social system, should carefully indicate the particular epoch of which they treat. And they should not ignore the possibility of variations in the social system in different parts of Ireland. There is evidence to show that Tir Eoghain, to take but one instance, differed in many respcts in its institutions not only from the Gaelic parts of Munster, but even from the adjoining Gaelic states in Ulster, such as Fermanagh and Tir Connail. Welsh history shows us how this could easily arise. We are told that Rhys ap Tudor, in the days of Henry II or of his sons, made certain alterations in the Welsh

laws. But Rhys ruled only over a part of South Wales. He had no power to impose any new legislation over the whole country.

Yet certain features of Celtic institutions persisted over long epochs of time, and prevailed over the whole of Ireland and of Wales. If, by the operations of Mr. Wells' Time Machine, the Steward of Llewellyn the Great could have been projected through time and space to the castle of the "Pallis" near Killarney in the days of the last Mac Carthy Mór, and the Steward of the latter had been transplanted in the same way to thirteenth century Aberffraw, and each were told to take up the duties of Steward of the King's household in his new abode in space and time, I think that a very short time would have rendered each familiar with his new duties. There would have been differences of detail; but the main features of the social system would be the same. But all our evidence goes to show that, to the contemporary Elizabethan official, Gaelic Ireland presented a series of imperfectly grasped puzzles; and I suspect that in the same way Norman lawyers and administrators of the thirteenth century failed to understand the institutions of Wales.

Can we say that we have an accurate understanding of Gaelic land tenures? I think not. Here we have one of the still untilled fields in Irish History. Read any half-dozen text-books on our history published in the last ten years, compare them with one another, see how far their statements on the land system in Gaelic Ireland conflict or agree. Then search for the authority for these statements. Then compare the facts as set before us by authentic contemporary documents (where we have such) with the statements in our text-books, remembering to take into account time and place. Compare our documents with similar records from Wales and Gaelic Scotland. Only when all this has been done, can one hope to produce an authoritative exposition of the ancient Irish system of land tenure.

W. F. Butler.

YOUTH AND HOPE

BY C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J., M.A.

INVITED to write an article on contemporary Catholic 'young men's' enterprises, and on those of Hungary in particular, we began, most providentially, by forgetting altogether this invitation. For the polite editorial jolt to our memory occurred just after we had at last been sent the complete *compte-rendu* of the Third International C.Y.M.S. Congress, at which we assisted in Innsbruck, August 23-26, 1923. We came there on our way from Budapest, and are writing this a year later at Berlin, on our way back to Budapest.

Since the International Secretariate of Catholic Young Men's Societies[1] is able to concentrate, codify and broadcast the activities of all national or local Catholic Men's Societies, I can scarcely do better, in this first article, than relate in outline what happened at Innsbruck. But I must premise that, necessarily detained at Budapest till the 23rd itself, I was absent from the inaugural meeting; but, by flying to Vienna and taking thence the night train to Innsbruck, I arrived at 9.30 on the 24th, my own paper being announced as for 10. We arrived, gasping, in the great Hall at 9.55; but it was found useful as well as merciful to postpone the paper till the afternoon.

The congress was gathered in the magnificent Canisianum, the University Hostel directed by the Jesuit Fathers. Its great theatre was nobly decorated, and the statue of the Sacred Heart was enthroned upon the stage, surrounded by lights and flowers. After a short and purely 'organisational' meeting of the congress committee, composed of a representative from the

[1] Via Scrofa 70, Rome 11.

C.Y.M.Ss. of Belgium, France, Italy and Holland, along with the General Secretary, Cav. Rag. C. Parisi and his vice-secretary, the inaugural session was held, at which Mgr. Sigismund Waitz, apostolic administrator of the Tirol, was elected Hon. Pres. of the congress, and Dr. Karl Lugmayer, who represented the Austrian national C.Y.M.S., was made the actual president of all the meetings. A long letter from Cardinal Gasparri was then read, expressing the sovereign satisfaction of the Holy Father, both in the achievements and the aspirations of the International Secretariate, and his hopes that the next congress would be held in Rome and would form a true collective pilgrimage representing the Catholic young men of the whole world. The Holy Father had also given a personal audience and blessing to Cav. Parisi just before his departure for Innsbruck, and another telegram of blessing was to follow. It would be impossible to catalogue the ' letters of adhesion ' or good will, arriving from scores of nuncios, bishops and superiors-general of religious orders : several came from secular officials, including that ' double personality,' Mgr. Seipel ; Cardinal Bourne's letter was brought and read by us, amid great enthusiasm, next day. The countries represented were—Austria, Belgium, China, Colombia, Czecho-Slovakia, England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan, Jugo-Slavia, Mexico, Portugal, Spain, Uruguay ; but others, like Poland and Hungary, unable to send representatives, sent letters, and I think there were about four smaller units who had representatives there, like Madagascar. My personal opinion is, that Catholics do not yet understand publicity. No doubt finance enters here : still, had this congress been very well advertised, I am sure that, for example, American young men, living on the continent, would have come in good numbers. As it was, Innsbruck contains many students from the U.S., so that these too were able to provide much invaluable information and enthusiasm.

It may, for fairness' sake, be well to follow the Acta of this congress in tabulating the constituent societies coming from these various lands, under three heads :—

(1) Those which form the true nucleus of the international movement : Gioventù Cattolica Italiana, with between 300,000 and 400,000 members ; Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Française, with 100,000 ; Verbandzentrale der Kath. Jugend und Jungmännervereine Deutschlands (Düsseldorf, 370,000) ; Reichsbund der Kath. deutschen Jugend Oesterreich (30,000) ; A. C. J. Belge (10,000) ; Interdiocesane Nederland Jeugdcommissie (statistics not to hand) ; A. C. J. Canadienne-Française (6,000) ; and the A. Cat. de Juventud Mexicana. Note that these associations are of very different sorts, so that statistics are in a sense misleading. Thus the Italian G.C. represents the masses ; the French A.C.J.F. seeks to form and to represent an élite. Germany, besides the generic Verbandszentrale of Düsseldorf, has a score of specialised groups of young men, and so has Italy :

(2) Groups which, weaker numerically, are none the less thoroughly imbued with the spirit of international co-operation, like those of Portugal, Luxemburg, the Argentine, China, Poland, Ecuador, Japan, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Malta (the Rev. E. d'Andria, who represented the Maltese Y.M. Fed. at the first international congress at the Hague, became Minister of Education in Malta) :

(3) Groups whose adhesion exists indeed, but so far without very much activity—the Uniate Copt Y.M.S. of Egypt ; Fiume ; Brazil ; or whose development showed high promise for 1923-1924—Spain, Denmark, Bolivia, Colombia, Flemish-Belgium, Uruguay, etc. Of the United States, the secretary's notes say that the C.Y.M.S. there, a most ambitious group, but not yet well centralised, has found communications difficult ; a similar lack of centralisation, as well as ' prudence ' (which the secretary mentions), and also a certain lack of imagination resulting

in a certain apathy (which he mercifully does not), accounts for the late adhesion of the British C.Y.M.S. However, in 1923 the Liverpool Y.M.S. sent a letter of good will, and the English H.Q. approved of my and my companion's presence, in its name, at Innsbruck. "To our great regret," writes Cav. Parisi, "we must reckon in the group [of those whose relations with the international H.Q. are practically, or quite, non-existant] the C.Y.M.S. of Dublin, whom we welcomed with so high and fraternal an enthusiasm at our first Congress."

In short, 36 associations with a membership of about 4 millions, adhere to the International Secretariate so highly approved by the Pope.

The point of these congresses obviously is, that the International Secretariate, by *enquêtes* carefully carried out during the space between congresses, can obtain a really universal and well-documented opinion as to what most is needed for the well-being of the Catholic folk, and what are the contributions towards this that young men in particular are fitted and able to make. Hence will emerge the subjects for discussion and the suitable choice of speakers.

On the 24th, after the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost, Avv. José de la Torre de Rodas (Spain) read a startling paper on the rôle of young men in regard of foreign missions. He insisted that in this department Catholics had not woken up to the fact that conditions were changed. Distance was practically annihilated; and he piled up statistics to show how the Protestants and sub-Protestant sects (by the latter we mean, for example, Christian Science) were profiting by this. True, their work was practically non-spiritual; but they were very rich, and occupied the terrain, and made the introduction of the Faith, if not impossible, definitely more difficult. Had he chosen to speculate on the future of India and of Egypt, he could have underlined his contention that we have reached a crisis; and those who followed were

indeed wise in emphasising the crime of mingling politics with missionary effort, as past centuries, at any rate, too often have done. Missionaries have killed many a mission. He urged the regular inoculation of youthful minds, from schooldays up, with missionary interest; the formation of lay-lecturers; the missionary education of all parishes by lantern lectures and so forth; and the far closer co-operation of all priests with the Missionary Union of the Clergy and with the Propagation of the Faith, which is to have its first international missionary congress next year in Rome. Resolutions were passed concerning this, while we reflected on the great vocation of Maynooth in China, and longed the more that that great centre of Irish apostolate, home and foreign, had been represented. Maynooth, single-handed, could go far to give effect to the aspirations expressed after this first speech.

A little after 10, we, having washed, and absorbed a vast bowl of bread and milk, listened to Rev. F. Zeiss (Secr. Reichsbund, Salzburg) on the 'liturgical formation' of boys and young men. He rightly insisted that we throw away with both hands the historical, literary, instructional, and mystical treasures of our immemorial, living, and grace-giving liturgy. That liturgy, the living product of a living faith, became unintelligible, formal, a dead weight, a veritable cause of Catholics finding no sense or attraction even in Mass, and in consequence of deserting it. It is true that to understand and join in the Sacrifice is what is wanted. If we were certain that Catholics all did that, we might trouble less about the understanding of our ritual. But do they? Of course not. And to be in vital communion with the outward rite is very often—indeed, all but always a certain method of reaching the inmost thing that is done. The various groups resolved to foster might and main the formation of lay and other lecturers, who, with the help of lantern-slides, etc., should—as they do

so well in Germany and doubtless elsewhere—teach the peoples to appreciate their hereditary treasures, and so to love the substantial liturgical services of the Church that not only they join devotedly in them, but eschew unauthorised or less valuable substitutes.

The hard-worked but willing audience then listened to the Rev. C. Noppel, S.J. (Kath. Jugendverein, Munich) on the due C.Y.M.S. rôle in regard of immorality in theatre, cinema, press and art. Naturally he urged the positive side—to use, improve, and create a good literature (dramatic, journalistic, etc.) and art; but also the negative—the suppression of what was bad. He, of course, deprecated the drastic measures that put those that used them at the mercy of the law, like the destruction of films, or unnecessary uproars in theatres, etc. But we were, frankly, quite amazed to hear instance after instance quoted of how Catholic young men (here finding it quite possible to join with non-Catholic bodies, Protestant or even Socialist) by their vigorous action had caused immoral displays of various sorts to be stopped or altered. (We too have noticed how sensitive are cinema-managers to public criticism of their films; and could also, alas, have quoted many a Catholic church where either *only* the scurrilous Sunday papers are sold after Mass, at the doors, or where Catholic papers are dumbly offered and rarely bought while the others do a roaring trade.) Suffice it to say that in many places Catholic groups have abolished, or driven into invisible lairs, the sale of immoral brochures, photographs, and objects, in the neighbourhood of stations or in restaurants. The traffic is international, and only internationally can it be coped with. Moreover without a good deal of 'lay' assistance the police themselves are half powerless. This session of the congress ended by the sending up of a request to the League of Nations, then assembled at Geneva, to obtain the enforcing of the decision of the international diplomatic Conference at Paris (April-

May, 1910) to petition Governments against immoral traffic—the war and other considerations made that decision a dead letter.[1]

A solid dinner followed, during which we made the acquaintance of some U.S. students, and after it, of the Chinese and Japanese delegates, and then were photographed. I hurried out to show my companion, if not the sights of Innsbruck, at least where to find them, and returned to read my own paper at three. I had been asked to speak on the methods of non-Catholic Young Men's societies, and concentrated on those American and British organisations—the Y.M.C.A., Salvation Army, Methodists, Student Christian Movement and the like—which throughout Palestine, hither-Asia, and Central Europe open their schools, free clinics, libraries, birth-restriction-centres and recreation-clubs. Against the philanthropic theism of these sometimes devoted, often unscrupulous, men, an uninstructed population—piety is no index whatsoever of the level of its instruction—has no chance. We developed the description of those elements which we hold to be *absolutely necessary* in *all* Catholic enterprises if these rivals of ours are to be defeated and are not to continue drawing away from the faith, as they are doing, thousands of innocent Catholic people, and we were very glad when Hon. P. Novasio, deputy in the Italian Parliament, Turin, emphasised what we had said by explaining with accuracy the Y.M.C.A. activity in Italy; Mr. C. J. Chang (Berlin and Shanghai) gave statistics of the 20 Protestant Universities, 600 colleges and 1,200 schools with 400,000 children attending them, in China, and described the foundation in France of a Chinese C.Y.M.S., the reasons

[1] The League of Nations, it will be recalled, became unpopular (quite undeservedly) about this time owing to its so-called failure at Corfu. What happened to this petition we do not know. None the less, before such petitions can be wisely sent up, a strong expression of public opinion is needed; and the constituent societies of the international C.Y.M.S. can provide a very strong expression indeed.

for which we have explained elsewhere. We translated his speech, made in broken English, into French, and the Spanish delegate reinforced his theme. Let us sum up the situation in three sentences: Catholics have not prepared Catholic populations to meet the changed conditions; non-Catholics are sweeping such regions and find the uninstructed folks an easy prey—not that they convert them to any positive belief, but that they destroy the piety that they found there and substitute, if anything, a liberalistic theism and a sure and certain hope of material benefits: Catholics are not yet doing 1 per cent of what they ought to, in this very field. Finally, Dr. J. Dinkhauser, sent to represent the Austrian Minister for Education, spoke. Later in the evening, M. Corbillé, replacing M. Bidault of the A.C.J.F. whom illness kept absent, explained at great length the duties and opportunities of C.Y.M.S. groups in the matter of Catholic Instruction. It was made clear that these duties are *not* merely interior nor self-regarding, but definitely *apostolic* and *instructional*. We are continually forgetting, urged one speaker after another, that the Church, and therefore every Catholic group, has a *mission*. We are missionaries; not stay-at-homes. A Viennese, a Portuguese, a German and a Czech speaker continued what proved to be one of the most important discussions of the congress.

After supper, we confess to drawing breath, along with some American students, in front of a local restaurant, where we drank coffee and petitioned that some Wagner might be played to us. We returned, and remained talking till 1 with the most inspiring Portuguese and with the Chinese delegates. Unluckily we had to rise at 4 to catch the train for Ljubljana, where we were to assist at the national Slovene congress, so we missed the next day's conferences. The Acta, however, print most of the material in full. The day of August 25 began with the announcement that the Holy Father had

written to send his apostolic benediction, and that Dr. Stumpf, President of the Diet of the Tirol, had joined the conference. A French delegate developed the theme of the preparation of young Catholic men for their due economic and social rôle in the modern State, and Mgr. Mosterts (Düsseldorf), Bishop Waitz, Comm. Pericoli (Rome) and Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch delegates followed him, emphasising the absolute necessity of this sort of education—and, what is more, of an internationally co-ordinated social education—for the young men of our time. An Austrian delegate spoke afterwards on Marian devotion, a very useful speech in view of the rather sharp divergence of opinion, noticeable on the continent, as to the proper character and work of sodalities. After dinner, telegrams were sent to His Holiness, to Cardinal Piffl of Vienna, and to the Chancellor, Dr. Seipel. The discussion on the relations between sodalities and the C.Y.M.S.—for points of contact, which are many, by no means imply identity; and no sodality, however flexible—and perhaps in England and Ireland their flexibility is far from adequately realised, should attempt to fulfil all the necessary apostolate with which the C.Y.M.S. should cope—was continued. M. Picard, a Belgian delegate, spoke of the value of the C.Y.M.S. for vocations. Germany, France, Portugal, and Spain supported this, and finally a report of the year's activities on the part of the International Secretariate and a plan for future development were offered by Cav. Parisi and Fr. de Grijs (Holland) respectively. We may allude further to these in our next article. A great Reception was then offered by Austria to the delegates, and the day concluded with speeches in half-a-dozen languages. (We know those appalling episodes; but our experience is that, between the unintelligible declamations, there is plenty of time for the friendliest conversation. After all, a speech ought to be literary . . but nothing need prevent a conversation being as 'doggy'

as one likes. With a little French, German and Italian, one can talk, it appears, with Pole or Serb or Copt . . .) On the 26th, Avv. Camillo Corsanego, Pres. Gen. of the Italian Gioventù Cattolica, spoke on the exact place which it was hoped that the 'youth organisations' of the world would occupy in the Catholic framework. To this also, or at least to the ideas that had their home in this speech, we may allude below. On this last day of the Congress there had been a General Communion, and at ten a procession with scores of banners belonging to the various Austrian associations grouped itself before the Church of St. James for an open-air Mass and then took its way through the decorated town. At 8, a banquet in the station restaurant ended the congress.

To generalise for a moment. It was recognised with absolute unanimity that the vocation of the Church, and therefore of each individual Catholic in his measure, is a missionary one, and, in our modern conditions, an international one. It was further recognised that in every State in Europe, at least with very few exceptions, the great obstacle, the supreme enemy of proper Catholic activity was the pest of nationalism. This pest, which all allowed to have nothing to do with the virtue of patriotism, save in the sense that a caricature has to do with that which it parodies, was, one man after another declared, the next heresy which we might pray to see condemned by Rome herself. From this poisoned source flowed that preoccupation with politics that everywhere tithed Catholic energy. All this had to be pocketed, nay, tossed bodily overboard, by all who were fain to work for the Faith of Christ and for His Kingdom. *Christ's* peace, in *Christ's* Kingdom. That and that alone dare a Catholic devote his *life* to.

So much then for the material supplied by last year's congress in the baroque little town of Innsbruck, risen on immemorial foundations among the eternal mountains.

C. C. Martindale.

GIBBON AND THE FIRST COUNCIL OF EPHESUS

BY HILAIRE BELLOC.

Part II [1]

IN my first article I described the First Council of Ephesus and drew up, under four main heads, twenty affirmations and implications contained in Gibbon's account. These I now proceed to analyse and expose.

I. Gibbon's ignorance and misstatement on the doctrine of the Incarnation.

A. Gibbon's errors, deliberate and of ignorance, on the term *θεοτοκος* (=Mother of God).

(1).....(*a*) That "it originated in the Arian Controversy" and was therefore "recent."

Now the Arian Controversy began with Arius' attack on his Bishop in the year A.D. 319. But the term *θεοτοκος* is, so far as we know, first found in a surviving document as early as *circa* A.D. 24–50. It may be *much* earlier; it must be *somewhat* earlier; for when it appears, it does not appear as a novelty—there is no comment, apology or elaboration, but the use of the term as a natural expression, equivalent to saying the Virgin's name. It is Origen who thus uses it, and the reference is to Migne, P.G. XI, Col: 813.[2]

Gibbon had clearly not searched his sources—for I do not believe he would have dared suppress such evidence. This "recent" expression, then, was already in written evidence for at least two centuries—and presumably for at least two and a half—before Nestorius took exception to it; and such a usage Gibbon palms off on the general reader as "recent."

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[1] For Part I see issue of last September.

[2] A fragment only, and late in Origen's life. But the word is written by a man, and presumably familiar to a man, born as early as A.D. 185 or 186.

(2).....(*b*) The term θεοτοκος had grown up "insensibly." This is a word of which Gibbon is very fond, and which he uses to convey the idea of an interpolation, of a change that would have shocked the original Christians.

There is a sense, of course, in which any term or, for that matter, any doctrine grows up "insensibly": the process of all development is continuous; any particular expression is used by some before it is used by many and then by all.

But that the idea "Mother of God" (*i.e.*, the idea that the infant Christ was God) was ever an innovation is utterly unhistorical. On the contrary, the *denial* of that idea was an innovation among Christians: an innovation to which we can assign precise dates and which excited immediate denial.

(*c*) But Gibbon—knowing that a formidable list supporting the past usage existed (he is careful not to quote it)—says it is of no value because

(3).....(1) St. Cyril's citations are not trustworthy;

(4).....(2) Catholic MSS. have a special character of including marginal notes in the body of a text.

Both these statements are historically valueless. St. Cyril's allusions to usage, the past examples of the term θεοτόκος, are part of general history dependent in no way upon his individual authority. All MSS.—not Catholic in particular but all—suffer, among other sources of error, the inclusion of marginal notes.

II. Gibbon's ignorance and misstatement on the moral authority of the Council of Ephesus.

A. That St. Cyril, who directed it, vitiated that moral authority by his various acts of injustice.

(5).....(*a*) His bringing an undue quota of his suffragan Bishops, thus disobeying the Imperial writ.

Here Gibbon is only repeating the attacks of St. Cyril's contemporary and personal enemies; but he does so uncritically, and therefore unhistorically, omitting all consideration of evidence as a whole.

St. Cyril did bring with him a large number of his dependent Bishops: he brought 50. But:—

(1) Larger still was the contingent of Memnon (52); and the next largest was not appreciably less—it was John of Antioch's (43).

(2) The number of Episcopal Sees subject to St. Cyril was larger than that of those subject to John.

(3) In proportion to such numbers St. Cyril's following was less than Memnon's of Ephesus, or even Nestorius'.

(4) The decision was not by majority, so that numbers had but a moral weight.

(5) St. Cyril's suffragans were not a quarter of the whole unanimous Council.

(6) The vote against Nestorius was unanimous—a greater or less number of Egyptians did not affect that character.

(7) The Imperial writ summoned the presence with each Metropolitan not of "a few" but of "some few" bishops (in the Latin "nonnullos," in the Greek "ὀλίγοις"). The exact proportion was not specified, but the wide limits of choice are easily judged by the official phrasing of the Writ: Enough were to come [with each Metropolitan] "to allow of the matter being fully debated, but not so many as to embarrass the church service of the Province."

(8) There was no protest against St. Cyril's 50 by the author of the Writ, the Emperor, though he at first supported Nestorius. Indeed, there could not have been, unless most of the others, including

Nestorius himself, were to be given the same blame—for they brought larger contingents in proportion than did St. Cyril.

(9) St. Cyril's contingent cannot have been excessive, for, while it was proportionate to others, the Council itself was not unduly large; it was, on the contrary, moderately filled—198 at the first session, just over 200 in the later ones, as against 237 at Nicaea in A.D. 325 and 186 at Constantinople in A.D. 381, the two earlier Œcumenical Councils.

These points are conclusive, and no sound historian, however hostile to St. Cyril, can neglect them. Gibbon neglects them altogether and substitutes for them the bald repetition of an accusation which he has not weighed and does not allow his readers to weigh.

(6).....(*b*) His opening the Council prematurely, thus cheating the Antiochenes (who had been legitimately detained by civil or ecclesiastical business) of their votes—which (he implies) would have gone in favour of Nestorius.

Here again a debatable point is falsely put by Gibbon's habitual use of advocacy in the place of judgment, and by his misstatements.

(1) Neither he nor anyone else knows whether John of Antioch had a legitimate cause for delay: the " civil or ecclesiastical business " is pure invention of Gibbon's own. All we know—save for a later tradition of a famine thereabouts at the time—is that John of Antioch kept on putting off and putting off his journey, and at last started many weeks after the latest date he had promised. All the other Greek leaders—one, Juvenal of Jerusalem, from much further off—got to Ephesus before, on or immediately after the appointed day. The plain facts of the case are conclusive for Cyril's contention that John was deliberately procrastinating with the object of saving

Nestorius, whom, as a man, he favoured, but as an innovator he dared not doctrinally support.

(2) That John did *not* support Nestorius in his heresy is a proof that the delay was calculated to save a friend from disgrace by preventing a judgment. Had he been prepared to subscribe to the heresy he would have hastened in support.

(7).....(*c*) And disobeying the orders of the Imperial officer, Candidian.

The sole evidence for this is Candidian's own boast to John that he had ordered a postponement. There is no other evidence whatsoever. The Minutes of the Council, which are detailed and emphasize the opposition it met with, are ignorant of any such order, as we have seen; nor does the Emperor allude to it, nor does Nestorius himself. It is almost certainly false. Even were it true, it would not tell against Cyril; he had a right to prevent the stultification of the conference by repeated delays. But it is not true.

(8).....That the Decision itself was:

(*a*) Hurried over in one day, and so imperfectly settled.

This is another good example of Gibbon's *suggestio falsi*, arrived at by the careful confusion of two separate things. (1) It is true that the first, preliminary, condemnation of Nestorius was arrived at in one day: why should it not be? The meeting was unanimous and the case clear. But (2) it was *not* the *decision*: it was *not* the official and final act. This only came much later, after the arrival of written Opinions, Legates and Envoys from the West, after the arrival of all—even the delayed—Easterns, and after a careful procedure in due order and covering many weeks.

(9).....(*b*) Summoned as a partial Council, Greek, not Œcumenical.

Yet another example of the *suggestio falsi* by one deliberate introduction of a wrong word. The Council

turned out, in the event, to be a meeting of Greek-speaking Bishops, with only three Latin-speaking members attending. Physically that is true. But morally it is a wholly false statement, implying a Greek and local decision for what was really universal. For (1) Rome, and Carthage and all the West gave *unanimous* support to the Catholic view against the insignificant Nestorian group: (2) they did so, and could only do so, because they had been summoned like all the rest Œcumenically.[1] The Universal Church was present at Ephesus, by proxy, by delegates, by letters mandatory; while (3) the absence of the actual persons of the West was a physical accident due to the disturbed conditions of the time; their opinion, weight, and value were not absent.

(10).....(*c*) A mere tumult of opposing factions.

This is a gross perversion of values. All debate and discussion, where there is any difference of opinion, involve the presence of an opposition. But the truth of the picture lies in proportion. Of the Christian world, the Western Patriarchate (Gaul, Spain, Africa, Italy), as also Egypt, Thrace, Asia Minor give the Catholic reply: a small Byzantine clique opposes, and even the one disgruntled district of Syria gives no vote for the Heresiarch. The truth is that no decision of the Church ever had such a weight of general support as this of Ephesus in favour of the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. It was far more united than Nicaea in 325, or the Vatican in 1870. It was virtually unanimous.

(11).....(*d*) "Therefore dismissed by the Emperor as hopeless." No: ultimately ratified.

III. The statement by implication that the See of Rome was filled and served by incompetents: and this supported by:—

A. The statements that the Bishop of Rome

(12).....(*a*) could not read Greek.

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[1] The Petition of Summons uses the actual term "συνοδὸν οἰκουμένικης."—Labbé, Concil: III, p. 431 (Cap. XXX.)

On the basis of Gibbon, or rather of the rationalist French writers whom he copied, this statement, that the clergy of Rome could not read Greek in the early 5th century, has been scattered broadcast and repeated in innumerable text-books. It is not only obviously unhistorical as a detail, but it shows an unhistorical mind in those who state it. It shows an ignorance of what the world was at that date. To say that the Bishop and Clergy of Rome were ignorant of Greek in the year 429, is very much like saying that the Foreign Secretary and Office of England to-day are ignorant of French. Some of them know French, some do not; some speak French almost as though it were their native tongue; the great majority can read French; a few even highly-placed men sometimes (rather to the astonishment of their contemporaries) are found to be ignorant of French. Yet to say that a French document would not be understood by the English Foreign Office or by the average English Foreign Minister of this generation, is obvious nonsense. But it is worse nonsense to say that the Bishop and Clergy of Rome did not understand Greek in the early 5th century, because there was here no national difference involved. Greek and Latin were the two cultural tongues of the whole of that civilisation: Latin was the usual tongue of the West, Greek of the East; but educated men always knew both; the highly-educated man was actually bi-lingual. Centuries later, in the depth of the Dark Ages, it would have been true to say that the mass of men, even in high positions, were no longer bi-lingual. It was emphatically not true of the early 5th century. When a highly-placed Western man is ignorant of Greek, the point is nearly always brought forward and emphasized as a strange thing, worth noticing, just as we should notice the infrequent occasion upon which an English Cabinet Minister is quite ignorant of French. Now in the matter of St. Celestine, we do not even know whether

his famous letter to St. Cyril was not written in Greek originally. The best scholars have debated the matter, and it has never been decided. We have the document both in Greek and in Latin. St. Cyril was Greek-speaking so it would be natural to write to him in Greek; but being a highly-educated man he presumably knew Latin familiarly so it might have seemed natural to write to him in Latin. Even a contemporary would have difficulty in saying whether the letter were written in Greek or Latin originally: which was the first draft and which was the translation.[1] No modern scholar can pretend to decide. Meanwhile the fact remains that both versions were presumably contemporary, and certainly have co-existed from the earliest examples of MS. record; and even if St. Celestine personally were ignorant of Greek the whole Papal court was filled with secretaries and other officials to whom that language was native, familiar and probably even, in some cases, the only tongue they knew. The statement, therefore, that St. Celestine could not judge the matter because he did not know Greek, is nonsense.

(13).....(*b*) "nor any of his clergy."

This second statement is of even less value than the first. We might have some document in which it was stated in so many words that the Pope of the day—St. Celestine—happened to be ignorant of Greek; not that that would make the least difference to the controversy or to the value of his judgment; but when there is added to the statement that none of his clergy knew Greek, it passes the limits of the absurd. That the vast body of clergy in Rome under Theodosius and Valentinian were to a man ignorant of the cultural tongue of half the Empire, a tongue which was written

[1] It is to be remarked that the Greek contains one characteristic word absent from the Latin version, the word *adelphos*=brother. It looks a little as though the Greek were the original, for the word was left out in the Latin version, which may be by this test supposed to be a translation; for a translation is more likely to drop a term than to add one.

familiarly by all literary men, and which was, at Court and in all official places, alternative with Latin, which had not so long before been the language of the Roman liturgy itself, is a statement too foolish, one would have thought, to be worth making—yet Gibbon has found plenty of dupes. It is as though you were to say that no one in Oxford of the 18th century knew Latin. You might find an occasional Don who knew no Latin, but the place as a whole was steeped in Latin; and so was early 5th century Rome steeped in Greek.

Official documents were of course always translated from Greek into Latin and from Latin into Greek, so that the double versions might exist; and the fact of such translation is frequently mentioned. But the idea that the Greek language was therefore unknown at Rome is not worth discussing.

(14).....(*c*) Nor grasp the theological discussion of Greek-speaking Christians.

Here again it is difficult to characterise the magnitude of the falsehood. Men had just taken part, both in the East and West, with the utmost energy and the greatest dialectical skill in the great Pelagian controversy, and this main theological point had first arisen in the Latin West, not in the Greek East, though debated in both.

(15).....(*d*) The Pope decides a matter of the first moment on the version of one monk, and that garbled.

There is no trace of this, no evidence for it whatsoever. The decision of St. Celestine was undertaken after full discussion in Conclave with his clergy and many Bishops of Italy. It could not have been in the nature of the large organised Papal Court of that day that a chance statement by one person from outside should settle these great issues. They were thoroughly debated, thought out, and decided in the largest manner. Gibbon writes as though they were little domestic affairs decided on the spur of the moment in a private room.

(16).....(*e*) The Pope first deposed Nestorius as a heretic and then gave him ten days to recant.

Here we have another example of Gibbon falsifying history, not by omission or direct misstatement, but by inversion of order. It is a favourite trick of his, and it is curious to note how rarely critics have pinned it down; for it is the destruction of history to falsify sequence. What should we say of an historian who wrote "France and America resisted the advancing German armies, and Great Britain joined them." Yet such an inversion of order would not be worse than the inversion which Gibbon here makes: the whole point of the Pope's action was that he gave Nestorius time to recant, and only *in case* he would not recant was he to be deposed. He had ten days in which to think out whether he would, or would not, recant. Deposition was only to follow after that delay. The words, both in the Greek and in the Latin version of the Pope's Edict, are as plain as they can be; and it is an unavoidable conclusion from the reading of them, either that Gibbon never read them, or that having read them, he deliberately misstated their purport. The operative words are, in the Latin, "Aut nisi hoc fecerit mox," and in the Greek "ἢ ἐὰν μὴ τοῦτο ποιήσῃ ἐνθὺς . . . ."

There can be no doubt of the order intended, and it makes the whole difference to the situation. Gibbon gives that order the other way about.

IV. The statement by implication that the See of Rome held no special primacy in A.D. 429–431.

This is by far the most important point in the whole of these pages of Gibbon. The development of the Central Power at Rome has been, as we all know, a matter of historical controversy beyond any other in the story of Europe. On a right interpretation of it depends our judgment between the Catholic position and

the Protestant and Orthodox. Roughly, as we also all know, the discussion turns upon two points: first, whether the development of the Petrine Power were of Divine ordinance, or a human corruption of the original institution to which the headship of Peter was unknown; secondly, on what the actual degree of power and the actual forms of its exercise were at different dates.

Now, as we again all know, complete decision upon the matter by mere historical proof is impossible, for the simple reasons (1) that mere historical proof will not decide point No. one, whether the Papacy be of divine or of human origin; and (2) in whatever phase of development you may find the Papacy at any given date, its opponents can always claim that this is a less advanced development than is later to be discovered—*e.g.*, the Catholic may say—and many of his opponents may admit—that as early as St. Clement's letter to the Corinthians you have apparent what the Catholic would call the Primacy of Rome, and what an Anglican writer has called Papal aggression; but the Catholic and anti-Catholic alike know that Papal action under St. Gregory the Great was more developed than under St. Clement; and under Innocent III than under St. Gregory.

It would be futile, then, to challenge Gibbon's history upon these main points, which are philosophical rather than historic, or even theological rather than philosophical. Gibbon might be a perfectly good historian were he to say: "The See of Rome at such-and-such a date claimed Primacy and settled certain questions referred to it; but did not exercise the detailed and universal judgment on appeal which was to mark it after such-and-such a date, so many centuries later."

But what marks Gibbon as a bad historian is, that instead of thus stating things as they were and drawing from them, if he chooses, such-and-such theological conclusions, he suppresses and distorts the statement of things as they were—and that is inexcusable.

The chief purely historical point about the Council of Ephesus is, what did men *then* think of the Papacy? How did the Christian Church *then* regard—in the years 428–431—the See of Rome? And an impartial examination of the evidence (which we have on a large scale, and in manifold examples) enables any honest historian to say: "The attitude of the Christian Church at that date, and of public opinion as a whole at that date, held that the claim of the See of Rome to Primacy was unquestionable." The honest historian can make the true statement quite independently of his liking or disliking the fact. He may say, "Happily for Christendom, the power of the Chief See had advanced to this stage"; or he may say, "Unhappily for Christendom, the usurpation of power by the Roman See had advanced to this stage"; but the objective historical fact remains. Rome *circa* 430 A.D. did hold this position of Primacy in all men's eyes.

Now it is this fact, the real position of the Apostolic See *circa* 430 A.D., which Gibbon violently and inexcusably misstates, leaving upon his reader's mind a totally false impression. I maintain that here Gibbon's falsehood is deliberate, for it is impossible to read the evidence which I shall put before the reader, part of which Gibbon suppresses and a part of which he misstates, without coming to this conclusion.

Gibbon's implication that the See of Rome held no special Primacy at that moment—A.D. 429–431—is supported in his text by four statements.

(17).....A. The direct statement that St. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, took the initiative, and that Rome only followed that initiative.

Here again is a total inversion of the order, and a deliberate one. The real sequence was this:—

(1) Nestorius, at the end of 428 or the very beginning of 429, writes two letters to the Pope,

describing his position. St. Cyril's first action in the matter does not begin till his letter to John of Antioch, which is certainly later, for in it he alludes to these letters of Nestorius to the Pope. This letter of St. Celestine will be found in Migne P.L. 50, 438–443. Cyril's first letter to the Pope was certainly not earlier than June 430 (Migne, 447–454). The Pope and the Italian Council first approached St. Cyril *after* they had received Nestorius's letters, and *before* St. Cyril himself wrote to Rome ; for St. Cyril himself, in his *first* letter to Nestorius (Migne, P.G. LXXVII., Cols. 40, 41), says : *" τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπον Κελεστίνον, καὶ τῶν σὺν ἀυτῷ . . . . . ἐπισκόπων περὶ τῶν ἀπενεχθέντων." κ.τ.λ.*

St. Cyril was commanded to act by Rome, and Rome was seised of the affair *before* St. Cyril acted.

(18).....B. The Bishop of Rome, St. Celestine, acted, not through his claim to authority, but from vanity.

Here again the texts are entirely opposed to Gibbon ; so much so, that if he had quoted them, no one could have believed his word. The famous Act of this Pope is extant : it is either of the third or fourth of the Ides of August 430, that is, either of the 11th or 12th of that month (the manuscripts differ by a day). It exists both in Latin and in Greek, and its operative words are, as addressed to St. Cyril, that he is to act against Nestorius " with the authority of Our See and acting as Our representative." The Papal plural is used in both languages. Later on in the same document, in both languages, the condemnation is issued, that if Nestorius does not recant, he is to be " cut off from Our body " (Cyril is addressed always in the singular), and again the plural is in both languages. The whole thing is a definite, official, authoritative document ; no more a chance impulse of vanity than an English Blue Book is a chance impulse of vanity. Of course one may say that the Pope's underlying motive was vanity, because

underlying motive can never be proved; but Gibbon's intention is obviously to imply that the act was exceptional and impulsive; whilst it is quite clear, when one reads the text, that it was a formal, considered, and traditional act, obviously with precedent at the back of it, full of formula and ritual phrase.

(19).....C. The deliberate omission of the most striking of all the scenes at the Council: *i.e.*, the solemn recital and acceptation of Roman Supremacy.

This recital and acceptation were as much the chief *historical* event of Ephesus as the recital and acceptation of Elizabeth's supremacy were the chief historical event following her accession. What should we think of an historian who pretended to summarize the first month of Elizabeth's reign and left out all mention of the Royal supremacy and the oath? Yet that is Gibbon's action here.

(20).....D. The converse positive statement that the Bishop of Rome is regarded at Constantinople and the East as no more than any other, being in the eyes of the Emperor and Nestorius nothing but "an Italian priest."

This is in flat contradiction with history, and belief in it is only rendered possible by Gibbon's suppression of the most important and leading act of the Council at Ephesus, which, as I have said, was the solemn proclamation by the Holy See of its own authority and position, and the deliberate acceptation of that declaration by the assembled and unanimous Council. There is here, therefore, as grave a misstatement of history as it is possible to make. Gibbon's reader, if he had no other authority, would lay down this account of the Council of Ephesus in ignorance of the Primacy the Apostolic See then held, and under the impression that it had none.

We have already seen what preceded the Council: how the Bishop of Rome issued a very solemn and authoritative document ordering the Patriarch of Alexandria to act, and so doing because to Rome Christian appeals were made. Further we note that St. Cyril, in making his report which called forth this document, not only says that he is acting upon ancient custom, which requires that such matters should be laid before the Bishop of Rome, but asks Celestine to decide, and *uses the technical and official phrase for an official decision on appeal.* The Greek idiom quoted at the beginning in my first article is conclusive: "*τυπῶσαι τὸ δοκοῦν.*"

Further, before the Council meets, the Pope specifically acts and speaks as having full authority. So much for St. Cyril's support of the Papacy in 430 and the Pope's own conception of it in 430. But the confirmation of that attitude by the Universal Church present at the Council in 431 was far more remarkable.

It took the following form. On the 10th July the delegates of the Pope arrived, consisting, as we have seen, of two Italian Bishops and the Pope's personal Legate, Philip. On that day the second session of the Council was held. Philip made the following declaration in Council: "That they were acquainted with the Pope's just *decision*; that he, Philip, now brought a second letter, and that the Pope had given him *instructions* to carry out the *decisions* formerly come to." This declaration was received with acclamation by the assembled Bishops. Thereupon Projectus, being of the Papal delegation, adds his testimony that the Papal Letter *enjoins it upon the Council* that they should carry into effect the Pope's original sentence. Following upon this, Firmus, the Exarch of Caesarea, speaking as a member of the Council in general, which has heard the declaration of the Roman delegate, says that they have already done what the Pope enjoins, and uses technical

words to clinch the matter, saying there has been inflicted a judgment "Canonical"—that is, conforming to the fixed canons or rules of the Church; and "Apostolic"—the technical word for action by the *Apostolic* See. In other words, Firmus, speaking for the Council, affirms not only the known point that St. Cyril followed canonical rules (giving, for instance, the canonical delay and the three canonical summonses), but has also had the authority of the Apostolic See *which Firmus quotes as being equally important.*

After that, Philip, the Pope's personal Legate, speaks again, thanking them for their attitude: and on this occasion similarly recites the Petrine claims: "You are not unaware that the Apostle Peter," etc. Finally the Metropolitan of Ancyra, speaking, just as Firmus had spoken, in his capacity of Member of the Council and a spokesman of it, says: "We were right to do what we did, for God has shown the justice of it through His confirmation of it in Celestine's letter." Which is equivalent to saying: "Perhaps we were rash to act at once on the first day, as we did, for we had not yet had an authoritative letter from Rome; but now it is all right, for the letter has come, agrees with our position and so indemnifies our action."

All this evidence upon the universal admission of the Papal claim upon that 10th of July, would be sufficient, in all conscience, to show what men thought of the Papacy in 431; but there is more.

On the next day, the 11th, the third session of the Council was held: the Minutes of the first session were read over, and were specially confirmed by the Legates in the Pope's name; and Philip once more, in the most solemn and explicit manner, recited the Petrine claims and gave that recital a regular official quality by promulgating it in Latin and in Greek, as was done with all solemn documents of a final or official sort. This recital the Council heard, not only without protest, but

accepting it as a matter of course. When that ceremony was concluded, St. Cyril proposed that the Legates of the Pope should sign the Roll first, which they did; whereupon the Council was able to write to the Emperor and say that "the whole world was agreed"—a very accurate statement of the position as against a minority smaller than that which had divided upon any other discussion upon heresy.

The whole of these two days, which were the operative days of the great Council, are filled, then, with the fullest possible affirmation of Papal authority, and in the unanimous acceptation of it by the Council; and that capital piece of history, by far the most important for the historian in connection with the Council at Ephesus, Gibbon suppresses.

To sum up:.....In these few pages, professing to deal with one chief event of the history of Europe, Gibbon, in the pursuit of his brief against the Catholic Church, commits twenty demonstrable and gross errors. Of these, some, such as his ignorance of Origen, are involuntary—but none the less an example of his insufficiency as an historian, causing him to make affirmations, the falsity of which a wider reading would have shown him. There are gratuitous suggestions of his own, made to deceive the reader, as for instance the use of the adjective 'recent' applied to a process which Gibbon himself knew to be at least more than one century old, and which was, as a fact, certainly more than two. In other places he puts forward as history mere inventions of his own; such as the cause of John of Antioch's delay. In others, he misinforms his readers by confusing issues; as when he calls the Council Greek rather than Œcumenical, emphasizing the Greek speech of nearly all the members actually present but evading the essentially universal quality of the summons, and of the Western opinions expressed by proxy and by letter. In other cases again, we find Gibbon inverting

the essential order of an important sequence ; in others, making statements (such as that upon the use of Greek in 5th century Rome) which are historically impossible, and betray ignorance even more than prejudice. Finally we discover him throwing all the values of the incident out of proportion, by suppressing the most important point of all, the affirmation and confirmation of the Papal claim ; an action by which he not only leaves his readers in ignorance, but against the evidence of which he propounds a completely false view of the position of the Apostolic See in the 5th century.

If we had nothing to guide us upon the value of Gibbon's history beyond his treatment of these two capital years in the history of Europe, it would be enough to determine our judgment of him.

Hilaire Belloc.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXVIII—A Palmer's Greeting

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, D.LITT.

During his exile Muireadhach Albanach visited the Holy Land. The British Museum has a copy of a poem of his written in the Mediterranean—unfortunately the text is too fragmentary for this series. On his return he visited Ireland, and addressed the following panegyric to Murchadh, son of Brian Dall, a descendant of Brian Bóramha through his son Donnchadh. Murchadh, surnamed *na n-each* ("of the steeds," *cf.* §11), was a kinsman of the famous Donnchadh Cairbreach, mentioned in §8, and addressed in the supplementary stanza. The poet, who felt the need of patronage, does not spare his flattery, comparing Murchadh to the most famous characters in Irish mythology, history and romance. More interesting to the modern reader is the personal note. Muiredach's new dignity gives him, if possible, a higher claim to consideration.

The text is from Br. Mus. Add. 19995 (B), which is illegible in parts, and omits §§7, 8 and 14cd-15ab, collated with two paper MSS. in R.I.A., 23 C 18 (C) and F. VI. 2 (F), which omit §§9, 10, 23, 25 and 26. I have normalized the spelling throughout.

Muireadhach Albanach cct.

1. Tomhais cia mise, a Mhurchaidh ;
maith do[1] dhúthchas deaghurchair ;
do chinn t'athair ar[2] aithne
ar na cathaibh córaighthe.

2. Cá healadha fhoghnas damh ?
tomhais, másа thú Murchadh ;
eirg is iarfaigh d'U Dhálaigh,
a dheirg lianchair leannánaigh.

3. Tomhais damh cá baile i mbím,
a fhir nach uis re hairdrígh ;
tomhais a dtúirim[3] i dtigh,
a sholais chúilfhinn chneisghil.

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[1] in B. [2] do bhéaradh haithir CF. [3] mar tuirim CF.

4. Tomhais cá hainm fhuil ormsa,
a chuilén saor súlghormsa ;
a ghille mhín sholais sheing,
tomhais cá tír as[1] dtigim.

5. Tigim, a fholt fleasgach fiar,
tar Muir dtaobhsholas dToirrian ;
atú ag[2] tiomcholl an domhain,
a chnú d' [2] fhionncholl fhoghamhair.

6. Muireadhach Albanach mh'ainm,
a ghille náraigh neamhghairbh ;
gairid Clann Bhloid[3] inn ré n-ais,
dar linn, gidh goid do-ghénmais.

7. Falmaire agus fear dána
labhras réd ghnúis ghealmhálla ;
tabhair ní dhamhsa ar mo dhuain,
is almsa í[4] i n-énuair.

8. Donnchadh Cairbreach is Clann Táil
do-ní ar dtarmann 's ar dtógbháil ;
tusa mac athar is fhearr,
a shlat d'achadh[5] na hEireann.

9. Ní fhaca riamh a rosg corr,
níor cheanglamar ar gcomann :
a Mhurchaidh, a mhinn na súl,
budh cumthaigh inn ag iompúdh.

10. Suidhfe i Mumhain,[6] a Mhurchaidh,
sgothaigh fhéraigh fhionntulchaigh ;
suidhfe, a Mhurchaidh, sa Mumhain,[6]
ar a tulchaibh tiobradhaigh.

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[1] a CF. [2] *om.* B. [3] gébh*aidh* síol mbloid CF. [4] *agus* almsa CF.
[5] dath*adh* CF. [6] mughain B.

11. Urthain t'einigh nochan fhuil
ar maigh[1] Mhumhan, a Mhurchaidh;
ní shaoilim t'urthain d'eachaibh,
a Mhurchaidh, ag Muimhneachaibh.

12. Do-bhér anmanna oile
ortsa, a í Bhriain Bhóroimhe;
dot ainm[2] baiste atáim re treall,
a ghaiste áigh na hEireann.

13. A Chú Chulainn ar chleasaibh,
a Osgair ar imreasain,
a í Dhuibhne an táidhe theinn,[3]
ar áille ar shuirghe ar shoicheill.

14. A Chearmaid ar chaoine nglóir,
a mheirge dhualach dhonnshróill,
a Abhartaigh, a shaoir sheing,
a chaoimh ábhachtaigh fhoirteill.

15. A Bhuidhbh Dheirg ar dheirge ngruadh,
a Mhanannáin ar mharcshluagh,
a chiabh fholláin ar fhighe,
a Mhongáin ar mhaisighe.

16. A Mhidhir mheic an Daghdha
ar ábhacht, ar urlabhra;
id chéibh fhighigh nochan uil
acht réim Mhidhir, a Mhurchaidh.

17. A Mhurchaidh, a mhala dhonn,
do-bhér do chédainm chugam;
cóir fuilleadh mór dod mholadh,
ní bruinneadh d'ór aonghoradh.

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[1] acúa B. [2] air hainim CF. [3] a háine fhinn CF.

18. Gorm do shúil, bán do bhráighe,
a rí Sionna sreabháille,
geal do ghlac, tana do throigh,
ragha na mac 'gud mháthair.[1]

19. Gile do thaobh ioná an tonn,
buidhe th'urla ioná an t-ubhall,
caise t'urla iona an snas slán,
blas an chumhra ar do chomhrádh.

20. Fraoch an earraigh ar th'armaibh,
ar h'innsgne 's ar h'urlabhraibh ;
fraoch gríbhe id cholainn i gcath,
míne cholaim red chumthach.

21. Beirse leat uaim it ainm féin
a Mhurchaidh mheic Bhriain bhuinnréidh,
beir go daith athdroing oile,
maith an acmhaing fhalmaire.

22. Do-bhér do dhearbh, a dhéd[2] glan,
aor agus í 'na moladh,
a shlat chuanna na gciabh dtrom,
nocha gcuala riamh romham.

23. Oineach Ghuaire, a ghnúis leabhar,
rét éigsibh, rét fhileadhaibh ;
time Chonaill chaoimh Chearnaigh
id cholainn shaoir shoidhealbhaigh.

24. Mineas[3] Chonchubhair na gcath,
is Con Raoi na rosg mongach,
is Con Culainn na gceardadh,
nár fhulaing a imdheargadh.

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[1] maccaibh B. [2] fholt B. [3] Foirne CF.

25. Ainm iarmhaoi Almhaine ort,
míndealbh Oisín dá adhart,
is anáir[1] an fhir Osgair,
a bhranáin ghil ghormrosgaigh.

26. Mineas Meic Lughach na lann,
a rí Cliach, ar do chumann,
is meic Lir do luaidh greagha,
mo chin fhuair na haisgeadha.

27. Béra[2] aisgeadha áille,
nós is cruth is comhláine ;
mac brughadh nocha bhí it toigh,
acht rí[3] Mumhan, a Mhurchaidh.

28. A Mhurchaidh mheic Bhriain í Bhriain,
a chrann fíneamhna a[4] finnChliaigh,
a gcuire d'armaibh tar ais,[5]
duine ar talmhain ní thomhais.

29. Ceadaigh dhamhsa dul dom[6] thír,
a Dhonnchaidh Chairbrigh chneismhín,
i nAlbain bhfeadhaigh bhféraigh
bhfleadhaigh n-ardaigh n-oilénaigh,
mo ruaig[7] i nEirinn tar mh'ais,
ní huaid[8] téighim, is tomhais.

Tomhais

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[1] anáidh B. [2] Fuairis CF. [3] achrig B., a Rígh CF.
[4] *om.* B. [5] tar thais B. [6] am B. [7] maruaig B.
[8] huaidh CF.

Translation

1. Guess who I am, O Murchadh ; thou art born to good casting ; thy father surpassed in discernment the marshalled battalions.
2. What craft befits me ? Guess, if thou art Murchadh. Go and ask O Dálaigh,[1] O ruddy, kindly, friendly prince.

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[1] Perhaps the poet himself, for M. A. claims the title in No. XXVI. Or it may mean " descendant of Dálach (†870)," from whom the O'Donnells are called Clann Dálaigh, referring to the one who had banished him.

3. Guess for me in what home I dwell, O thou that art not humble towards a High King. Guess what I seek in a house, O bright, fairhaired, white-skinned !
4. Guess what name I bear, O gallant, blue-eyed whelp ! O smooth lad, bright and graceful, guess from what land I come.
5. I come, O curled and twisted hair, from over the bright-surfaced Mediterranean ; I am going round the world, O nut of autumn's fair hazel.
6. Muireadhach Albanach is my name, O modest and gentle youth ; the Race of Blod[1] call me to them,[2] methinks, though I should have committed theft.
7. A palmer and a poet speaks to thy bright and modest countenance ; give me somewhat for my poetry—'tis an alms at the same time.
8. It is Donnchadh Cairbreach and the Children of Tál[1] that protect and exalt us ; thou art the best father's son, O rod of Ireland's field.
9. I have never seen his smooth eye,[3] we have not bound our love together ; O Murchadh, jewel of the eyes ! we shall be comrades at parting.
10. Thou shalt take thy seat in Munster, O Murchadh, the flowery, grassy, fair-hilled land ; thou shalt sit, O Murchadh, in Munster, on her many-fountained hills.
11. There is not on Munster's plain enough to sate thy generosity, O Murchadh ; I think not that the men of Munster have steeds enough for thee.
12. I will call thee by other names, thou descendant of Brian Bóramha ; for a space I have been using thy baptismal name, O noose of Ireland's valour.
13. O Cú Chulainn for feats ! Osgar for contention ! O Duibhne of the hardy stealth, for beauty, for wooing, for liberality.
14. O Cearmad for charm of voice ! waving banner of dark satin ! Abhartach, noble and graceful ! handsome, blithe and strong.
15. O Bodhbh Dearg for redness of cheeks ! Manannán for troops of horse ! rich braided hair ! Mongán for comeliness !
16. O Midhir son of the Daghdha for merriment and speech ! In thy curled locks is only Midhir's sway, O Murchadh.
17. O Murchadh of the dark brow, I will resume thy first name ; much more is due to thy praise ; gold is not refined by one heating.
18. Blue is thine eye, white thy neck, O king of the fair-streamed Shannon ; white is thy hand, slender thy foot ; thy mother has the choicest of sons.
19. Brighter is thy side than the wave, yellower thy hair than the apple, thy hair is curlier than the unbroken shaving, thy speech has the taste of fragrance.
20. The fury of spring is upon thy weapons, on thy speech and thy words ; a griffin's fury in thy body in battle ; the gentleness of a dove towards thy friend.
21. Take from me in thine own name, O Murchadh, son of smooth-soled Brian, take quickly another fresh company—good is the palmer's potency.
22. I will give thy sure tokens, O bright-toothed chief ; a satire that is a eulogy, O lovely scion of heavy locks, I have never yet heard.
23. The bounty of Guaire, O long face, towards thy sages, towards thy poets ; the terror of fair Conall Cearnach in thy noble, shapely body.
24. The courtesy of Conchubhar of the battles, and of Cú Raoi of the shaggy eyebrows, and of Cú Chulainn of the feats, who never brooked an insult.
25. The name of Almha's great-grandson[4] upon thee, the smooth form of Oisín at his pillow, and the honour (?) of Osgar, O chess-king bright and blue-eyed.
26. The courtesy of Mac Lughach of the blades, O prince of Cliu, in thy fellowship, and of Ler's son, who drove steeds : happy is he who got the gifts.
27. Thou shalt bear[5] beautiful gifts, fame and loveliness the most excellent. In thy house no yeoman's son dwells, but the king of Munster, O Murchadh !
28. O Murchadh, son of Brian O Briain, O vine from fair Cliu, the weapons thou flingest back no man on earth can guess.
29. Let me go to my own land, O smooth-skinned Donnchadh Cairbreach, to Scotland of the woods and the grass, of the feasts, the hills and the isles. I will visit Ireland again ; not from thee do I depart—and guess !

OSBORN BERGIN.

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[1] The O'Briens. [2] " will receive me," CF. [3] or " seen thee, O round eye." [4] Fionn. [5] " hast gotten," CF.

HEALING RELIGIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., PH.D., SC.D.

THE most interesting phase of what may be called social life in the United States at the present time is to be found in the immense amount of special healing that is being accomplished. We have religious healers and scientific healers. The healing religions are attracting an immense amount of attention, and are claiming more and more devotees every year. It is evident that here in America our people are in general much more interested in the health of their bodies than in the salvation of their souls—in *salus corporis* rather than *salus animae*, for the same word conveys both ideas in Latin. There is manifestly a very large number of people who seem to think that their health needs bolstering up in some way ; otherwise it would be very hard to account for the multiplication of the adherents of the healing religions and, above all, the constant addition to the number of their places of worship. Some of these are very handsome temples on prominent streets and represent investments of half a million to a million dollars a piece. When the healing religions have no temples of their own, they meet in theatres or in the ballrooms of fashionable hotels ; and as such quarters are not provided except on the payment of very good fees, it is evident that some of our very best, in the sense at least of our wealthy, people are converts to these new forms of religion.

We have nationally organized healing religions with central authorities ; and then some of them are confined to states and some of them consist of single congregation sects. Massachusetts, which is usually considered to be the hub of our intellectual universe, with a higher average of education than any of the other states, used to have the greatest number of these healing religions ; but California, to which so many of our better-to-do people have been

gravitating in recent years because of its mild climate, has displaced Massachusetts during the present decade, and now enjoys the distinction of having more healing religions than any other state in the union. Mark Twain once said that "dollars and sense do not necessarily go together."

Alongside of this religious healing may be placed the so-called scientific healing of our generation. This is accomplished by means of what are said to be new discoveries in science. There are advances, real or supposed, in psychology, in physiology, in anatomy, in chemistry, in physics, and above all in the rapidly developing science of electricity which are said to be marvellously curative. These new scientific discoveries when applied to pathological conditions, whether they be disturbed function or organic lesions of the human body, either restore them to their former state of health or else afford so much relief that the sufferers consider themselves cured, and demonstrate the fact by going on with their occupations as before.

It is simply wonderful what "cures" are made. Electricity in various forms is supposed to supply wonder-working energy and renewed nervous strength to patients who have suffered, or at least complained, for a long while, and some of whom have made the rounds to a number of physicians without effect. These people are made so much better that they proclaim themselves "cured," and want all the rest of the world to know what a wonderful thing this new discovery is in order that other sufferers like themselves may secure the benefit of it. Sometimes the people who are "cured" are members of the legislature or have friends and relatives in the legislature, and then the legislators want to pass laws to make it possible for everyone to enjoy this new-fangled mode of cure, until we have almost as bad a confusion with regard to the laws regulating the practice of medicine in the various states as we have with regard to the laws regulating marriage and divorce.

Not long ago in New York City the police arrested a man and his wife who were "curing" people of all sorts of ills—especially pains, aches and discomforts of various kinds—by means of a "radio" apparatus, which is our American term for the receiving apparatus of a wireless telephone. These two healing worthies had taken the two wires of the radio apparatus which usually end in ear-phones and attached them to discs of metal covered by a moistened cloth. If you had a pain in your back, your back was bared and these radio terminals were rubbed up and down it—and you were supposed to get better. If you had a pain in your abdomen, the application of the curative agencies from the radio apparatus was made over that in the same way, and you were promised relief. A great many people declared that they were relieved, and a number said that after they had been treated a few times they were ever so much better, and then after a time were entirely well. A dozen treatments or so were guaranteed to be completely curative of most of the ills to which human nature is heir. The charge for a cure was only $100. The police interfered, not because of the curative practices (it is doubtful whether our laws would allow them to take action in such a case), but because of the prison record of some of those who were engaged in the practice or traffic or whatever you would want to call it.

An investigation of the radio apparatus that had been employed so successfully in "curing" people showed that the wires of it were wrongly "connected up," as we say in America, and as a consequence of this no vibrations were coming over the wires at all. The electrical expert of the police department, thoroughly familiar with radio apparatus, declared that it would have been impossible to hear a clap of thunder a mile away on the apparatus that had been so potent in healing. The healing operator, however, stood beside the patients while he rubbed them, and told them glibly of these wonderful new vibrations in the ether

which can travel across a continent or even all around the globe. These were now actually being made to penetrate directly through their bodies, relieving their aches and pains and supplying the nervous energy which had been lacking. He went on with this "patter," assuring them that there was no doubt at all that radio would produce a lasting cure. Is it any wonder that, under the circumstances, those who had faith in him got over a good many of their ills, and did not hesitate to tell their friends of the marvellous curative agent this wonderful new discovery proved to be.

That will probably give the best possible idea of the receptive mood in which our people are at the present time with regard to "cures" of any and every kind. We are eminently suggestible, and so the healing religions are proving prodigiously successful. Almost anybody can set up as a healer, and if he has a glib tongue and a certain superficial familiarity with healing passages of the Scripture, it will not be long before he will have some of those who come to hear him proclaim themselves cured of something or other, and his ministrations will be thus made ever so much more effective for other people. Some of them have been in the healing practice for years, making a good living; others have started as healers in the last few years; some are absolutely new in their appeal; but the wonder is that they all get along, secure a congregation, and have many clients.

We have always had a number of these religious healers in this country. A generation ago we had a man who announced himself as a healing prophet in Chicago. His name was Alexander Dowie; but he proclaimed that he was Elias returned to earth. The reason for his return was that he was to be the precursor of the Lord in His second coming. When the Lord came for the second time, He was to know His own by two marks: they were whole in body and holy in soul. Prophet Dowie was to make them whole in body, and the Lord Himself would make

them holy in soul. In order that they might be made whole they were supposed to come and live with the new prophet in the New Jerusalem, called Zion City, situated half way between Milwaukee and Chicago. Dowie proclaimed not long before his death that he had touched and healed over two hundred thousand people. Nearly twenty thousand of them came, and because they had been cured gave him all the money they had in the world, and lived with him in the New Jerusalem. Some of them had $10,000, some $20,000, some $50,000, and a few even $100,000. Indeed it was well understood that if you had not any money you need not come around, and the words of the popular song to that purport were sometimes used.

Dowie died early in the twentieth century. Zion City, however, still continues; but it has failed to attract anything like the attention that it did before, and the new religion is at least at a standstill.

One might expect that after an experience of this kind we would not have anything on the same lines for at least a generation; but Dowie was scarcely dead before another prophet announced himself. His name was Francis Schlatter. He had been a cobbler out in Denver at a girls' school, a curious, distant man, the sort that one sometimes finds in the employ of Sisters, because they are able to stand and understand his peculiarities better than anyone else. Schlatter announced that he had a divine mission to heal people. He went up into the Mount of the Holy Cross, where the snow of the winter in two big valleys leaves a huge white cross all the summer long, and declared that he had fasted there for forty days. Then he came down and announced that he was ready to cure people, and he proceeded to cure them, first by the dozen and score and then by the hundred and even thousand. And yet Denver is one of our most practical and hard-headed of American cities.

Schlatter was very probably sincere. So was Dowie for that matter. I once talked with Dowie as the medical

editor of the *New York Herald*, and I know people who knew Schlatter very well. Both of them were probably men with delusions of grandeur. After all, there are a lot of such people around. We have at least a score of presidents of the United States in the insane asylums of this country and half a dozen kings of England, and we used to have half a dozen or more Emperors of Germany, though these are dying out now. We often have people who are sure that they have divine missions, and that seems to have been Schlatter's case. The surprise is that such people can often convince others and lead them in all sorts of ways. But it is the man who believes in himself who carries conviction. As for the cures, anything in the world that gets to certain people's minds will cure them. Coué has cured some 20,000 people every year. He himself says that he does not cure anybody, but teaches people to cure themselves by getting them into the proper frame of mind to be cured. Schlatter did not care for money much, and that is usually a sign of sincerity. He said that people should leave on the table of his consulting room as much as they thought their "cures" were worth.

The most prominent of our healing religions is of course Christian Science or Eddyism. Some fifty years ago Mrs. Baker Eddy began her teaching that "disease is an error of mortal mind." Therefore, all that you have to do in order to get cured of any disease is simply to change your mind, that is, get rid of the error which is the disease, and then of course you will get better. Her basic doctrine, announced with the most absolute confidence and accepted by her followers with the most thoroughgoing reliance on its truth, is "that error, sin, sickness, disease, death—the opposite of truth—is the the false testimony of false material sense—of life in matter." These are her own words, and this is her own punctuation. The fundamental aphorism of her teaching, both in religion and in healing, is: "Mind is all and

matter naught." She does not hesitate to draw the logical conclusion from this formula, and she states very outspokenly and very straightforwardly that as a consequence of this truth: "Man is never sick; for mind is not sick; and matter cannot be."

An American wag has suggested that if matter is naught, that is, does not exist, then of course "none of us can have anything the matter with us because there is no matter in which we can have anything the matter with us." Mrs. Eddy's teaching is that disease is just a wrong belief in the material existence of things; these have really no existence outside of our minds; they cannot, therefore, trouble us if once we get our minds off them and them off our minds. To use her own words, though it is a little bit hard to apply the formula, and there is a little mix-up at the end of it, "false belief is both the tempter and the tempted, the sin and the sinner, the disease and its cure." The great appeal of her religion is the "cures" that it makes, and practically all of her disciples owe their conversion to Christian Science either to the fact that they themselves were cured of long-standing ills or else they had very near and dear friends who were cured. Apparently they are all ready to subscribe to Mrs. Eddy's well-known summary of disease and its cure: "The cure of disease is effected by making the disease appear to be —what it really is—an illusion." Most of them are intelligent, at least they have been educated, not a few of them are college graduates, and all of them have money, because it is pretty generally understood that poverty is an "error of mortal mind" just as disease and matter are, and you must put off that "illusion" also in Christian Science.

Some of Mrs. Eddy's declarations with regard to matter are very interesting and furnish the key to her idealistic philosophy:—

"Matter is unreal and is therefore a belief"; "to spirit there is no matter"; "science repudiates matter" [meaning,

of course, her own science]; "science shows that what is termed matter is but the subjective state of mortal mind"; "matter is a fiction"; "the first idolatry was belief in matter"; "admit the existence of matter and we admit that mortality [and therefore disease and presumedly also death] has a foundation in fact"; "bones are only an appearance; bones are a subjective state of mortal mind; bones have only the substantiality of thought."

Her position is very well illustrated by her answers to questions put to her by her disciples. When asked by a sufferer if her toothache was not a reality, Mrs. Eddy replied: "What you thought was pain in the bone or nerve could only have been a belief of pain in the matter, for matter has no sensation. Your toothache was a state of mortal thought made manifest in the flesh." When asked the more serious question as to whether excess weight in a lady might not be considered to be a reality, to be removed therefore by physical means, Mrs. Eddy replied that the inquirer would be cured of her adiposity "by learning that matter is but manifest mortal mind." She added that it was important for her disciple to realise very thoroughly that, "you entertain an adipose belief of yourself as substance." Just as soon as the lady stopped entertaining this very foolish belief in her adiposity, the adipose would melt away like frost before the summer sun. It is marvellous what changes the mind can effect!

New Thought is another form of religion very popular in America, especially in the New England states, though the religious element in it is not emphasised as much as it is in Eddyism. It is the cult particularly of what we call in this country the "highbrows." In recent years the word "highbrow" has gone out of vogue somewhat, and has been replaced by the Russian term "intelligentsia." "Highbrow," with its two old-fashioned Anglo-Saxon syllables, was not nearly so satisfying to the mind, nor did it roll off the tongue so impressively as this many-syllabled Russian equivalent. Our definition of a highbrow in America is that he or she is a person who

has more education than he or she has intelligence for. We hear a good deal about undigested securities, but this is a question of undigested information and other people's thought. The idea behind New Thought is that if you place yourself sympathetically in harmony with the Infinite Powers around you, or, as they say, get " in tune with the infinite," you will no longer suffer from disease, because the infinite suffers no limitation, and disease simply cannot exist if the vibrations of endless energy are pouring into mortal manifestations of the creative power. It is because your mind permits itself to believe that there is something the matter with you that you suffer under these circumstances. The reason why the great body of mankind thinks that it suffers and is deluded into the idea that disease has an existence of its own, is that they are not capable of putting themselves in tune with the infinite. If you once resolve firmly that there is nothing the matter with you, then you will proceed to get better. It is simply your own fault if you suffer. To continue to do so is an acknowledgment of inability to bring out what is best and highest in your human make-up.

Strange as this doctrine may seem to those unfamiliar with it, there are hundreds of books written about it. Some of them have a very large circulation. I know one that has gone into more than twenty editions. Pamphlets also have been written on it, and several magazines are published regularly. New Thought is not ephemeral; it was founded some seventy-five years ago, and in spite of many defections to Christian Science it shows no signs of dying, in our generation at least.

The founder of New Thought was one Phineas Quimby, usually given the courtesy title of doctor. He began his work of healing as a " magnetiser," that is, as a man supposed to possess a superabundance of magnetic power, which he could lend on occasion to others in need of it. The middle of the nineteenth century was the day of animal magnetism and of Mesmerism. Animal magnetism,

because of its relation to electricity and the identity of electricity with the immense force of lightning, was supposed by some people at least to be the greatest curative agent in the world. Andrew Jackson Davis, known as the Seer of Poughkeepsie, had, under "magnetisation" from a wandering "magnetiser," dictated a series of books that solved the mysteries of the universe, and went through some forty editions. They were the "best sellers" of that day, and read by all the educated people of the time and lauded even by certain university professors. When Conan Doyle came over to this country a couple of years ago with a new message in spiritualism, his "new revelation," he told us New Yorkers that the greatest human being since Christ was Andrew Jackson Davis, because he had seen the soul leave the body. It was an ethereal substance that detached itself gradually, beginning at the feet and knees and then by degrees proceeding upwards in its detachment, until finally, as a misty simulacrum of its corporeal partner, it floated out through the wall of the room and disappeared. Andrew Jackson Davis made his living by getting in touch with Galen, the great Greek physician, and with Swedenborg, the Scandinavian mystic. His first meeting with Swedenborg and Galen was rather ominously in a graveyard; but they taught him all the secrets of medicine, and thousands of people proclaimed their cure by him of ills that the doctors had been unable to cure.

Dr. Phineas Quimby was an inheritor of this tradition of magnetisation. The touch of Quimby's fingers was supposed to convey simply marvellous new energy to the bodies of those who needed it. They recovered from all sorts of diseases as the result of his magnetisation of them. Quimby used to put one hand on the head of a patient and the other over the abdomen and make a series of movements. This rumpled the hair of his lady patients, so that his waiting-room was described as a place where ladies were putting up their womanly crown

of glory in a compact mass in order to have it rumpled as little as possible and then arranging it afterwards in order that it might present a sightly appearance for the street. As the result of his touch a magnetic current was supposed to pass through the head and trunk of the patient, curing practically anything that was the matter with the internal organs. If a pain was complained of in the limbs, then the magnetisation was rendered efficacious by stroking them.

Quimby made a great many cures and obtained a great reputation throughout most of New England. Even Mrs. Eddy, the founder of Christian Science, before the revelation of her own healing doctrines came to her, went to Quimby and was cured by him. She had had a fall on the ice, and suffered as a consequence from what was called in those days by the delightfully vague term "spinal nervousness." Her cure followed a series of treatments by Quimby, and she became much interested in his work and discussed with him the basis of it. At this time Quimby was beginning to appreciate that very probably his physical ministrations had comparatively little to do with the cures reported by his patients, and that in most cases what he was accomplishing of benefit for them came to them through their minds rather than their bodies. Dr. Quimby was what we call in this country a "cute Down East Yankee." He made a good deal of money; but he was not fooled by even his own ideas.

It is not surprising that, under the circumstances, the adherents of New Thought in our time declare that the founder of Christian Science obtained the fundamental elements for her new healing religion from Dr. Quimby. Indeed, towards the close of a very successful career, Quimby did not hesitate to state: "I know from my own experience with the sick that their troubles are the effect of their own belief." Of course, if such were his patients and such the diseases from which they suffered, he was

doing exactly the right thing in curing them by producing a change in the attitude of their minds towards themselves. His acknowledged offspring, New Thought, still continues to occupy a prominent position in the religious life of this country, and there are not a few of our literary folk and some at least of our editors, and even a scattering of lawyers and educators who are rather devoted followers of New Thought. They are rather tolerant folk, perfectly confident about themselves, nearly always pleasant company, and insistent that they feel ever so much better as the result of their adhesion to New Thought. No one has a better right than they have to proclaim that they owe their complacent state of mind and relieved state of body to the doctrines of Dr. Quimby of Maine.

Our generation has seen the foundation of a whole series of these healing religions. An English clergyman travelling in this country declared that "we have the most variegated menagerie of cults anywhere to be found." A friend of his, who had made a special study of them, described them as "fads and freaks and fakes supported by women of a certain age suffering from suppressed religion." At one prominent New York hotel it is divine metaphysics; at another it is subliminal psychology in tune with the infinite; at a third it is the religion of the unconscious; at a fourth it is the manifestation of the "hidden giant of the subconscious"; at a fifth it is that curio of curios in religion, the religion of the solar plexus. That was preached for most of one winter recently at a prominent hotel in New York City.

Of course we have any number of other mysterious cults. For instance, there are at least half-a-dozen occult forms of worship from the East, with Swamis or Suomis presiding over some of them and high caste Hindus presiding over others; and we have a whole series of theosophic assemblages and, in recent years, various forms of spiritualism which hold meetings and secure corroboration of their direct connection with the spirit

world by ladling out cures of various kinds for the ills of their adherents. Even Conan Doyle, physician and all that he is, told us that his sister-in-law was cured by the ministrations of a magnetiser to whom she had been sent by a spirit. The latter communicated, through a medium, to Dr. Doyle the fact that this magnetiser was the only man on earth who could cure her. Well, we have a lot of that over here in America, mediums who are " runners up " for magnetisers and other curious healers. There never was a time when people were so ready to be taken in. Man is incurably religious ; he gives up Christianity, and then the Lord only knows what vagary he will follow ; and the more he thinks he knows, the more fantastic is his choice likely to be—especially if he or she is in quest of a new religion that will give health here rather than salvation hereafter.

But surely education, and especially its wide diffusion, are lessening these tendencies for people to be carried away by all sorts of foolish notions. On the contrary, education has added to the difficulty and made the confusion worse confounded. About a hundred years ago Lord Macaulay was very indignant over the success secured by Johanna Southcote in London. Some may recall the passage in his essay on " Ranke's History of the Popes," in which he declared that he had seen " an old woman with no talents beyond the cunning of a fortune-teller and with the education of a scullion exalted into a prophetess and surrounded by tens of thousands of devoted followers, many of whom were in station and knowledge immeasurably her superior." Was it any wonder that he felt compelled to add, in his conscious complacency of the wonderful progressiveness of the nineteenth century, " And all this in the nineteenth century, and all this in London." Make it the twentieth century now, and the great cities of progressive America instead of London, and Macaulay's deprecation is more deserved than it was a hundred years ago.

Not long ago one of our best known educators in this country, Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University, declared that the best criterion of education that he knew was that it keeps people from being duped. He would prefer to put the idea positively rather than negatively, and say that education enables one to penetrate beneath the surface of things and understand their real meaning. He confesses that the idea is not original with him; it was brought over to America by Matthew Arnold, who adapted it from the French. Professor Dewey proceeds to say, however, that if this is the best criterion of education that we have, then education in our day is not only bad but is getting worse; for "this is the age of bunk and hokum." All of us are ready to admit, over here in America particularly, that there never was a time when it was so easy to fool people as it is just now. The two things with regard to which it is easiest to fool people are exactly those two in which they are most deeply interested, and with regard to which it is to be presumed they would be most circumspect. These two things are health and wealth.

As regards health, the discussion in this paper makes it very clear that people are being fooled to the top of their bent, "duped to the limit," as they say here in America, by healers of all kinds. With all our compulsory education and the immense increase of facilities for higher education, so that more than one in one hundred of the population is getting some high school or secondary training, there never was a time when so many people were ready to try the latest quack or charlatan or turn to the latest healer, and America is a fertile field for all sorts of irregular practitioners of medicine. The better the education that the people of the various commonwealths have received, the more of them are ready to fall victims to one or other form of quackery. Their education has served to make them more susceptible to suggestion. They develop dreads and fears of all kinds, disturb functions in their internal

organs, induce muscular inhibitions, and then have to be " cured." Their mind produces the symptoms because of their over-solicitude about themselves, and only some change in their mind can cure them. What is interesting in the present day is not mental cure of disease, but mental production of disease. The mind can produce all sorts of symptoms; and when it does, only the mind can cure them.

Last year Appleton published a book of mine called *Cures*, that is, the funny things which cure people. Most men are inclined to think that the absurd cures are a thing of the past. A great French physician once said that the therapeutics of any generation is always absurd to the second succeeding generation; but we are so progressive in the twentieth century that we do not wait so long as that. Many of our " cures " are absurd within ten years. Most readers begin the book with the idea that the particularly funny cures are things of the past; but they find before the end that there never was a generation more ridiculous in the way that it is influenced by " cures " than our own progressive century. The most amusing and amazing chapter—that is, it would be amusing if it were not so amazing—is the chapter on the healing religions. All sorts of intelligent people give up simple logical Christianity as too difficult of acceptance because of the advance of science in our day, so they say, and then take up with all sorts of religious fads, oriental and occidental, personal and pseudo-scientific. Outside of the Catholic Church the only religions which are increasing in numbers are those which promise the healing of bodily ills, for people are ever so much more interested in their bodies than they are in their souls. As President Nicholas Murray of Columbia University said in his latest annual report to his Board of Trustees: " The twentieth century awaits the awakening call of a great spiritual leader such as the thirteenth century had in St. Dominic and St. Francis."

JAMES J. WALSH.

TRUTH ADULTERATION

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR E. CLERY, LL.D.

1. *No person shall mix, colour, or stain, or permit any other person to mix, colour, or stain any truth or news with any ingredient or material, so as to affect injuriously the quality or potency of such truth or news or the mind of any person, and no person shall sell any such truth or news so mixed, coloured or stained.*

2. *No person shall, with the intent that the same may be sold in its altered state, abstract from any truth or news any part of it so as to affect injuriously its quality, substance or nature, and no person shall sell any truth or news so altered without making disclosure of the alteration, subject to the penalty hereinafter provided.*

3. *No person shall be liable to be convicted under either of the two foregoing sections if he shows, to the satisfaction of the Court before whom he is charged, that he did not know of the truth or news being so mixed, coloured, stained or altered as aforesaid.*

4. *"Person" shall include a limited liability company. . . .*

I ONCE knew an old gentleman who was a Darwinian, a free-trader, an unbeliever (except in Freedom of Contract), and a great many other things of that sort. He was also a grocer. But none of these interests was his strong suit. What really worried him (and he never tired of speaking on the subject) was that liberalism had fallen away from its logical conclusion. Free Trade and Free Thought: these had many supporters. But there had been a sad falling off as regards Free Contracts. Buying a pound of tea (or sugar) is a matter of contract. Everyone will admit that. If the sugar is a little gritty in one place, you can go on to the next. But an infamous body of legislation called the Food and Drugs Acts, departing from all principle, instead of leaving individuals to make and enforce their own contracts, had provided penalties for putting sand in sugar, water in milk, and the like. The kindly old gentleman—he had a logical mind—could scarcely restrain himself when he came to

speak, as he usually did, of legislation so iniquitous. It was the breach of principle that hurt him. He is not an imaginary figure ; he existed and had a bald head. When I knew him he was the managing director of a prosperous concern. What happened to him afterwards, either while he lived or later, I do not know.

This article, and the little Act of Parliament I have drafted at the head of it, have, however, no concern with food, food of the body. No milkman need tremble for pump or person, or profiteer be in any way disturbed. In fact I would call on the much harried class of milkmen and margarine sellers, and even perhaps on my dear old friend, if he still lives, to support me in an act of legitimate reprisal against their critics. The profits of butter-adulteration and even milk-adulteration are no longer what they were. Time was when you could become a millionaire by adulterating butter, in the days when margarine was a new thing. My old friend told me how the millions were made. Now you can at best gain an uneasy competence in this way. But there are other substances—untouched by legislation—which you may still adulterate and gain riches. And the greatest of these adulterations, the one that has made most millionaires in two continents, is the adulteration of truth.

I do not speak of truth-adulteration carried on (like moneylending) as subsidiary to some other business—by a politician, a diplomatist, or a general during a war for instance. I mean the adulteration of truth carried on as a business in itself, or rather as carried on by one whose nominal business is that of a *truth purveyor*. Hitherto a newspaper proprietor was the only person answering the description of a truth purveyor ; but in the immediate future broadcasting companies, still sinless, seem likely to take over a large part of the business.

The demand for truth or news on the part of the human mind is an appetency almost as natural as the demand of the human body for food and drink ; hence a

man can in practice no more do without news than he can do without sugar and milk. And he has a very limited choice as to what source of supply he will give his patronage. He may choose between half-a-dozen journals as between several milkmen; but, unless he is an ascetic or an eccentric, to one or other of them he will inevitably go. In fact men have, as a rule, less choice in their news supply than in their milk supply, milkmen being much commoner than editors, and dairy companies more numerous than news-trusts.

Again there *are* respectable milkmen, men against whom there was never a conviction; but is there an editor in the world who has not cooked the news and concealed the truth in his time, or if he hasn't put matter in, has left matter out, with the same object and result. Time was when—to take a simple example—a well-known journal in Dublin, then differently owned, used to extract all the jokes from the present Governor-General's speeches.

Now the general objection to adulteration is not so much the mere cheating involved in it, as the fact that it brings disease and death in its train, especially to the young. The body is poisoned or, more commonly, undernourished. The result is ill-health, deformity, in extreme cases complete destruction; this result comes more often from the supply of food, milk for instance, with its natural good properties removed or diluted, than from the actual adulteration with deleterious matter. These are precisely the objections to truth adulteration, save that its result is diseased and stunted minds and, in extreme instances, destruction of the soul. And as in the other case, the worst results come from the systematic extraction of a part of the truth, so common in our time. The modern world suffers enormously from the consumption of "skim-milk" truth, "separated" fact, if I may so call it. And the newspaper, the mental feeding-bottle of our time, which has taken the place of the natural sources of truth,

does most of its work in this way, which may perhaps explain why minds nourished in the old way, in distant places, are often the healthiest. Did you ever compare, say, a lecture in which there are any ideas and the report of that lecture next day. The way in which the ideas are extracted is amazing. If the reporter fails to skim off any of the cream, it is carefully separated by the sub-editor. And just try to get an article, containing ideas, published in the ordinary press and see what will happen. Just try to get the statements that England is not a democracy, or governed by parliament, or that the middle ages were not a backward period of history into any English newspaper! Why you could scarcely get them into the Irish press.

Or again, take any matter in which you have some means of correcting the press accounts, let us say, of what goes on at the Vatican or among the Irish in America, and compare them with the newspaper version. You will be astounded at the degree of misrepresentation. Compare what the Black and Tans did with what the *Daily Mail* or some other English paper said they were doing at the time. Then consider the vast number of topics on which you have no means of correcting distortion or misrepresentation. And you will realise the mass of adulterated matter put in circulation. I have a friend who occupies a post of some responsibility in the English governing machine. He once said to me that, when he was in a position—as he often was—to know the real truth about anything that happened, the press account was invariably false. It is these considerations that have led to the suggestions put forth in this article. Perhaps someone is startled by their novelty, or feels repelled by their absurdity, often another way of expressing the same thing. They are, I frankly admit it, the first shots of a new campaign.

There must have been some man of revolutionary temperament—my old friend would have called him a

reactionary—who first suggested that it was wrong to put water in milk. And once this novel doctrine was preached, it gradually spread till there arose men, still more communistic (or was it conservative?), who claimed that this view be enforced by the State. And in the end milk inspectors were actually appointed, and an adulterator was even now and then sent to gaol. As a result of which human beings were less free than they had been before, some of them at any rate, but they were better fed. The obvious objection to what is herein suggested, apart from its entire reasonableness, is the doctrine known as "the freedom of the press." Now the way the freedom of the press works in our law *in practice* is that a newspaper may state any lie, provided it does not refer to an individual. But it must not state even the truth about an individual, unless he or she is a very unpopular individual. The theory is a little different, but we need not stop to discuss it, especially as the recent decision in the Stopes[1] case tends to show that even the theory of law upon this point is in a fluid condition.

It may well be that the freedom of the press (and of individual critics) should be greatly extended so as to protect honest criticism of an individual wrong-doer, a dishonest financier for example, without requiring the man who shows him up to shoulder an almost impossible burden of proof as at present. But as against this, people in the mass have rights even greater than the individual; the wrong done by the neglect of these rights is much graver; yet the right not to be deceived is scarcely recognised in the case of people in the mass, unless the character of an individual is at stake. The freedom of the people is more important than the freedom of the press; and the wholesale truth adulteration of modern times has beyond doubt gone further to impair the freedom of the people than anything attempted in despotic ages. The traditional tyrant of history could coerce you to act as he wanted, but not to think as he wanted.

[1] N.B.—The final decision has not yet been given, as I write.

The question has become an urgent one with the "new journalism" of the past two or three decades. Up to that a few respectable journals of long-standing carried on their business with no more than the accustomed and well-understood dishonesty. They just sanded the sugar and weighed in the paper in the usual way, as their predecessors had done before them, whenever the middle ages, or the Pope, or Ireland, or some issue of that sort was in question. But on the whole they were fairly reliable truth-sellers and supplied most substances in a natural condition. The milk of fact might be a little skimmed, a little watered, but it was not scientifically separated milk, with all its fats removed and colouring matter substituted. And the newspapers of those days were often the instruments of the emancipator and the reformer. They were not owned by the person or the group whose conduct needed criticism. With the coming of the new journalism from the United States, all pretension to the sale of honest truth disappeared. Nothing was even supposed to be given you in its natural state; so the opportunities for adulteration became enormous and were enormously used. The extraction of the wholesome and thought-producing part, the element of mental food, in every fact became the rule; and lest the product be wholly tasteless an adulterant took its place. This was the breakfast food prepared wholesale for the community; it is only within the past five or six years that the use of this adulterated mental breakfast food has become common in Ireland and is taking the place of the home-made article. It is perhaps the most dangerous development of modern Irish life.

The most obvious difficulty in preventing the sale of adulterated news is that in modern conditions the retailer of news generally purchases it from the wholesale trust, who own it—they have a copyright in it—and he often receives it in an adulterated condition. Much of the Rome news, for instance, comes in this state. It would

be obviously unfair to punish the honest vendor for a fraud that is not his. As likely as not, there is no honest wholesaler from whom he can buy. But precisely the same difficulty arises in the sale of other adulterated substances, and there are provisions in the law that enable a seller of milk for instance to shift the blame on to the proper shoulders, provisions that could easily be adapted to the sale of truth or news. Much of the adulterated matter, no doubt, comes from abroad, but there is no more difficulty in preventing the importation of adulterated substances than their manufacture in our midst. Experience has already proved this in other cases.

Again it will be said that my proposals are an interference with freedom of opinion or of comment. Nothing of the sort. The numerous cases decided upon misrepresentation where the character of an individual is in question and the matter therefore justiciable, show that opinion and comment are one thing and fact or news quite another. The object of these suggestions is, within all allowable limits, to leave opinion free, unbiased by the reception of false statements of fact, under circumstances when that reception is for the individual, in practice, compulsory and unavoidable. For modern journalism works to the production of opinion far more by false or coloured or emasculated statements of fact than by any statement of editorial opinions, a method all the more dangerous in that the reader fancies he is thinking for himself, whereas in truth he is but misthinking to another's plan. Anybody who will recall his experience of war journalism will have little difficulty in understanding this. But though the war is gone, the war-time adulterations and exorbitances are still with us. And the worst adulteration is the adulteration of truth.

ARTHUR E. CLERY.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE GREEK NATION

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The Cambridge Mediaeval History, Vol. IV. The Eastern Roman Empire 717-1453. Cambridge University Press. 1923. 50*s.*
Staat und Gesellschaft des Byzantinischen Reiches. Von A. Heisenberg (in *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer*, 2nd edition). Berlin—Leipzig: Teubner. 1923. 17*s.* 6*d.*

READERS of Gibbon are familiar with the famous phrases in which he reluctantly imposed upon himself the "ungrateful and melancholy task" of continuing the history of the Eastern Roman Empire after Heraclius, and declared the story of Byzantium from the seventh century A.D. onwards to be "a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery," wherein "the loss of external splendour is uncompensated by the nobler gifts of virtue and genius"; the tale of a people "who assume and dishonour the names of both Greeks and Romans, and present a dead uniformity of abject vices, which are neither softened by the weakness of humanity nor animated by the vigour of memorable crimes." With this remarkably complete condemnation he justified himself for passing with hurried contempt over one of the most varied, heroic, and romantic epochs in European history, with which is intimately connected the preservation and growth of traditional culture, and without some knowledge of which the whole history of the West and East alike becomes utterly incomprehensible.

The motives which led Gibbon to his sweeping verdict were probably various: his constant indebtedness to Voltaire, to whom Byzantine history was "horrible et dégoûtante," and to Montesquieu, whose ideas did much to stifle for the eighteenth century the great interest

in Christian Constantinople that had produced so many learned works in the seventeenth ; the growing influence of the restricted classical ideal ; and perhaps some faint survival of that unintelligent hatred which had led to the plunder of the East by wave after wave of Frankish warriors in the Middle Ages. The opinion of Gibbon weighed heavily upon Byzantine studies for nearly a century after him, and no considerable writer in English, with the single gallant and disappointed exception of Finlay, did anything to discredit it till almost our own day. In recent years, however, its baneful effects have to a great extent disappeared, and with the appearance of the fourth volume of the *Cambridge Mediaeval History* it may be definitely said that a great and worthy field of knowledge has finally come into its own. For less wealthy readers there exist since 1919 two admirable little books by M. Charles Diehl,[1] in which modern researches are excellently and eloquently summarised. But perhaps the most striking feature of this revived interest is the appearance of August Heisenberg's summary of Byzantine political and social history in a volume devoted to the culture of ancient Greece and Rome.

For it is precisely to the student of ancient Greece and Rome, and as a meeting-place for all the streams of civilisation of which our own is variously made up, that the Christian Roman Empire of the East is most full of interest. There alone was there a continued and unbroken tradition, political, literary, and artistic, from the ancient to the modern world. There only did the " heritages of Greece and Rome " survive in their entirety, fusing gently and with no catastrophic interruptions into the Christian religion, and producing a social organisation that was the wonder of our forefathers and that left the marvellous imprint of " An Domhain Thoir " even on our Irish folk-stories of yesterday. The student of

[1] *Byzance : Grandeur et Décadence.* Paris : Flammarion, 1919. *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin.* Paris : Picard, 1919.

ancient Greece who is taught that the Roman conquest marked the end of the Greek nation and of Greek greatness, has only to turn to the Middle Ages to find the same Greek nation, with the same language, the same literature, but a new religion and a new political organisation, again dominating the world. The student of ancient Rome who learns that Roman glory perished with the fall of Romulus Augustulus will find the Roman name, the Roman army, the Roman system defending Europe against constant barbarian assaults upon the Eastern marches and along the Danube till almost the eve of the Renaissance. The seeker after the glamour of mediaeval chivalry will find in the neglected story of Byzantium what he is seeking, and something more—a chivalry which performs its deeds under the classic forms of Roman military discipline, sings its songs in a Greek at least as intelligible to the classicist as the Greek of Lykophron, and can produce in its latest days such a warrior as Manuel Comnenos, whose armour is too weighty for the most famous Frankish knights of Antioch. In Byzantium classical culture still formed part of ordinary education when only the clergy were educated in the west, and Homer was familiar to every "degenerate" official and to many great warriors; they wrote their history after the model of Thucydides and were enthusiastic lovers of Plato when the Universities of France and Italy were still struggling with translations of Aristotle at second-hand.

A description of mediaeval Constantinople itself, and a comparison of it with western cities of the same epoch, is sufficient to show that the Graeco-Roman Empire had preserved the glories of ancient times—and added to them—when they were long departed from the West. "Now wit ye well," says Villehardouin, a leader among the astute despoilers of 1203, describing the impressions of the Crusaders, "that they gazed at Constantinople, those who had never seen it; for they had not dreamed

that there was in all the world so rich a city, when they beheld the high walls and the mighty towers by which she was enclosed all around, and those rich palaces and those great churches, of which there were so many that none might believe it if he had not seen it with his own eyes, and the length and breadth of the city, which was sovereign among all. And wit ye well that there was no man so bold that he did not tremble; and this was not wonderful; for never was so great a matter undertaken by any man since the world was created." The population of the city at that time was nearly a million, incomparably greater than that of any contemporary city; and its squares and buildings, its central street, its splendid cathedral, its gorgeous Golden Gate, its Hippodrome with the innumerable festivities—some, like the *Brumalia*, still bearing Latin names—its warehouses in which could be bought all the luxuries of the world, and above all its marvellous artistic treasures, the spoils of a thousand years, all render it worthy of the name, "the Paris of the Middle Ages," so often applied to it. It was the centre of the most absolute monarchic powers the world has seen, the home of a bureaucracy whose intrigues and agents made themselves felt everywhere, the seat of a University where classical learning flourished as never since, visited constantly by embassies from all countries—we have still the record of its scanty respect for Bishop Luitprand of Cremona—and the centre from which Christianity and Greek letters were spread far and wide over millions of savages. From it the Arabs of Bagdad acquired the learning which they sent East to Nishapur and west to Cordova; from it came the religion of the Slavs and countless details of Tsarist Russian civilisation, down to the niceties of court ceremonial; and even in modern Western diplomacy many of its formulae are still observed.

This city was the capital and head of a great Empire, which remained perhaps the strongest and most permanent

power in the world down to the coming, in 1204, of Villehardouin and his associates, and the usurpation of the throne by a French baron introduced into the city under pretext of assisting a weak Emperor against his enemies. The Roman Empire, within three centuries after Justinian's death, had lost not only all his conquests but Egypt and Southern Syria as well. It had retained its hold on the Balkans after severe and often heroic struggles, and was based solidly on the Hellenised peasantry of Asia Minor, part of which it had lost by the battle of Manzikert to the Seljuq Turks in 1071, but upon which it had again strengthened its hold during a prosperous century (1081-1183) under the vigorous dynasty of the Comneni. It was thus confined to the lands upon which Greek culture had been firmly established since the days of Alexander the Great; and upon this basis it served as a strong bulwark against both Mohammedanism and the various barbarians of the North whose irruptions had long ago shattered the Empire of the West. From the time of Justinian's third successor, Maurice (582-602 A.D.) "the first Emperor of the Greek race," the Empire had been steadily growing more Greek in character. Towards the end of his reign, Justinian himself gave up the use of Latin in his edicts, a use by which he had so long maintained his proud continuity with the Caesars. Heraclius, the brilliant conqueror of Persia, whose old age was to see the rise of Mohammedanism, abandoned the title Imperator, and from his time on the Emperors called themselves by a Greek title—"Basileus and Autocrat of the Romans." More and more the eternally fertile Greek nationality impressed itself on the institutions of Rome, though always the Roman name remained, and indeed remained till very recently, as the Greek designation for themselves. The once great sign of a unique civilisation, the name "Hellenes," had sunk to signify "pagans," and disappeared as the designation of a Christian nation

till the resurgent Greek kingdom adopted it in the last century.

With the rise of the Isaurian dynasty to power (717) it may be said that the Roman Empire of the East had become the Roman Empire of the Greek nation; and from that time onwards every advance made by the Empire was an advance for the Greek cause. Under the Macedonian dynasty the Bulgarians were conquered and Hellenised, and the Greek language got its hold again upon districts in Southern Italy where it has not quite died out at the present day. Under the same dynasty the Slavs of Moravia and later the new Russian nation were converted to Christianity, given letters, and stamped indelibly with a Greek stamp. Under the Macedonians again there was accomplished for the first time definitely a deed which is curiously reminiscent of ancient Pagan Greece, and which more than anything else wrought the ruin of the Empire—the creation, by schism with the Papal See, of an independent Greek church. It was the old assertive particularism that has always been the curse of Greece; and in its very terminology the "autocephalous" Church of Constantinople reminds us inevitably of that love for "autonomia" and "autarkeia" which brought the ancient Greek civilisation under a foreign yoke. Everywhere, under political forms that were now only distantly reminiscent of Rome, there flowered forth again the old Greek vigour, the old Greek love of learning, the old Greek capacity for assimilating other races. And with it there went the majestic dignity of Rome, which, manifesting itself in the Byzantine attitude to Western "barbarians," refused the title of Emperor to the Hohenstaufens, whom the Autocrat of the World would only recognise as "riges," the Latin word surviving in a debased usage; and above all the power of Roman law and Roman military organisation. To the student of classical Greece, it almost seems as if the dreams of Isocrates and Alexander had come true

after long ages. Greece had drawn from Rome its strength and its order, and was once more the centre of the world.

In view of what was achieved by this extraordinary Empire, at once deeply national and as it called itself "oecumenical," it is hard to understand how historians could ever have found its record either insignificant or dull. It has been said with justice that for a long period it was the possessor of the only real civilisation that existed in Europe, and one at all times equal to that of any age in brilliancy. The science and philosophy of antiquity, the Hellenistic pursuit of letters, and a splendid sequence of historians writing classical Greek, found shelter behind its frontiers. It had its own popular poetry, its own mediaeval war-epic, the song of Digenis Akritas, in which its soldiers found inspiration and entertainment; its own body of religious poetry and music—to which insufficient justice is done in all the above-mentioned works; above all its own architecture, which inspired both the Allhambra and the Taj Mahal, and gave the world an equal masterpiece in St. Sophia; and its own schools of painting, illumination, mosaic work, and various minor arts, which were the sources from which modern Western painting and art derive. From whatever source it drew its architecture or any of its arts, it made all its own, and stamped all with the Greek genius. And for all the splendour that it fostered and handed on, it produced in century after century great military defenders, whose deeds rival those of any nation's heroes, and are still an inspiration to the Greeks. It is probably true to say that there was no year from 565 to 1183 in which Roman soldiers were not engaged in war upon the Eastern frontier of the Empire; the first and second great wave of Mohammedan conquest broke upon their skill and their age-old military tradition, and it was not till the greed and shortsightedness of Western powers had struck New Rome to the heart that she succumbed at last to the hordes of Asia.

In the West also, Constantinople had incessantly to fight for its existence. Again and again Slavs, Huns, Turks, and Northmen assailed its dominions; again and again its territory contracted and expanded. The city itself was the most besieged city in Europe, in peril from innumerable forays and assaults, but always inviolable till the Franks and Venetians seized it by treachery. The Western Empire was no more dangerously assailed by barbarians than was the Eastern; it is to the undying glory of the Greek name that the despised "Graeculi" were victorious where the mighty Romans failed. Their strength was mainly drawn from the hardy peasantry of Anatolia, who indeed gave more than one Emperor to the throne. We have impressive pictures of life in the provinces when the Empire was at its zenith; of unending frontier skirmishes, peace and plenty in the interior, where the people were grouped as serfs and yeomen round great baronial castles ruled over by and closely attached to the Phokas, the Skleri, the Maniakes, the Ducas, the Comneni, whose names and deeds fill Byzantine history; and of the flourishing and prosperous cities with which Asia Minor was filled, and of which the Turkish blight has left only few. These nobles, peasants, and townsmen, it should be repeated, were overwhelmingly of Greek race and tradition; and of their warlike and patriotic capacities there are innumerable instances. Continental Greece itself, though long since depopulated, and in many places repeopled with Slavs, was still a land of much prosperity, with many rich towns and mighty barons. Athens, with her Athena-temple in all its glory turned into a Church of the Mother of God, remained unchanged even after she had ceased to harbour the old philosophies; and we have a record of the greatest day in her history as a Byzantine city, when Basil II, the "Bulgar-slayer," came to offer thanks in her church for his conquest of Bulgaria, after forty-three years of war (1018)—a scene which was

recalled on the triumphal entry of the ill-fated Constantine after the Balkan war of 1912-3.

Mediaeval Greece is full of heroic figures whose claim to be Hellenic, though they called themselves Romaioi and their country Romania, is at least as good as that of Philip of Macedon or Zeno of Citium: the fiery Constantine Copronymus, who preferred the odour of the stable to the perfumes of the palace; Leo the Armenian, "murdered," says Finlay, "at the altar of his private chapel, as he was singing psalms with his deep voice, before day-dawn"; Theophilus the virtuoso, with his mechanical nightingales; the stable-boy Basil I, with his widow Danielis, whose influence brought him into the good graces of the drunken Michael III (he assassinated the latter and ascended the throne to restore orthodoxy and heal the wounds that Photius had made); the conquerors Nicephoros, Tzimiskes, and Basil II, who raised the Empire to its highest glory; the astute upstart Theophano, counterpart to Theodora; the three Comneni, and especially Manuel, strange blend of Eastern autocrat and Western knight, able diplomat and thundering warrior by turns; nobles like the ill-treated Maniakes, the headstrong Bardas Skleros and Phokas, who were educated in silken raiment upon Homer, the Fathers, and the philosophers, and could fight like Danish warriors or Norman adventurers; and finally the motley gallery of Eastern courtiers, Frankish knights, Catalan men-at-arms, and Venetian grandees, that fill the last three centuries before the end. And as a background to it all there loom up the Paynim hordes, common enemies of all alike: the marauding Turks who ate their way into the Empire, and the grisly Tartars with their piles of skulls and their horse-tail standards.

If dullness cannot be said to mark the story, neither certainly can it now be maintained that it is the story of a slow and inevitable process of decay. Perhaps this is the greatest service done by the new volume of the

Cambridge Mediaeval History; it shows us quite clearly both the strength and the weakness of this unique organisation, the living heir of antiquity, and enables us to see that its strength was not by any means solely the dead weight of the Roman system nor its weaknesses solely the vices of an imaginary Oriental harem. It did not differ from the other national states of the Middle Ages in its virtues and defects; where it did differ from them—and its people recognised the difference, which gives them their claim to be specially studied—was that it alone among them all was a naturally evolved state, preserving its continuity with the past while depending for its vigour upon the same source as they—the solidarity and cohesive power of nationality. The Greek language and the Roman name have as good a claim to be considered as a basis for nationality as have the Latin language and the Frankish name. It was upon their use of these, and with them of the Christian religion, that the mediaeval Greeks based their long-continued primacy. Their political system—"an autocracy tempered by revolution and assassination," as it has so often been called—was one that in many ways lent itself to instability, to changes of fortune according as the ruling dynasty was powerful or weak; and so the history of the Graeco-Roman Empire, far from being one of steady decay, is one of the most astonishing ups and downs.

At the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth, when the Arabs and the barbarians of the North were at the gates of Constantinople, it seemed as if all was over. Three centuries later, at the beginning of the eleventh, the Empire of Basil II is the most powerful state in the world, incomparably great in military strength and in the full possession of a splendid culture. The fall of Romanus III at Manzikert in 1071, which opened the way for the first great settlement of the Turks in Asia Minor, and lost forever some of the fairest Greek lands, seemed to ring the knell of Rome

once more. Within ten years a new and powerful military dynasty is established on the throne, and for another century gives strength, prosperity, and glory to the Empire, recovers a large part of Asia Minor, and wrests from the fierce Crusaders the suzerainty over all they had conquered from the Muslim. Even the collapse of 1204 was due only to the temporary paralysis—such as had often occurred before—of the Empire, while two dotards fought each other for the purple. The Frankish conquerors, with all their daring and military prowess, held their conquest for less than a century, when the Greek Empire was restored by a new race of warriors. But the greed of Venice and the destructive energy of the West, made hostile in particular by the obstinate religious nationalism of the Greeks, inflicted wounds from which no heroism could save the Empire. Slowly the Turkish tide trickled upwards through Anatolia, lapped round the City, and finally submerged it (1453), but not until most of its literary inheritance had been saved for the Revival of Letters in the West. In all this long struggle against a world which was too rude to understand until it was too late to save, there was no degeneracy, except whatever fickleness and feebleness might be shown by the pampered crowd in the capital; there were still active the Greek characteristics, the love of liberty which held out in remote mountainous provinces, and the love of art and learning that shone, even in the darkest days, over the loveliness—now a ghost in a deserted ruin—of Mistrá.

Why, then, if the Byzantines were not degenerate, did the Eastern Roman Empire fall? For the very reasons that had made the independence of ancient Greece disappear beneath the weight of Rome—the fact that the Greeks of the Middle Ages, like those of antiquity, had to fight a constant battle against East and West, and the fact that their peculiar nationalism was both their glory and their weakness. There is a

remarkable parallel between the steady encroachment of the Orient upon Greek lands before Alexander the Great and the continual advance of the East in the Middle Ages; and there is almost the same parallel between the gradual shrinkage of Greek civilisation in Italy in the two periods. The difference between them obviously is that in ancient times it was the West which conquered Greece, in mediaeval times the East; and the cause of that difference lies in the extraordinary powers of expansion suddenly developed by the Tartaro-Turkish peoples since they came in contact with Mohammedanism. Not the least fascinating chapters in a fascinating volume are the chapters in the *Cambridge History* wherein Mr. Loewe and the late Sir Edwin Pears describe the continual outpouring of Seljuqs, Mongols, and Ottoman Turks upon the world of the Near East. The wanderings of Peoples in the West were but trifling in numbers, rapidity, and ferocity, compared to them. The story of their vast conquests has been made familiar by the eloquence of Newman, from whose pages we can also learn how near the nations of Europe came to being engulfed by them. The Mongols overran Russia, and reached Hungary and Silesia, and in the East their advance was only held on the borders of Egypt by the bravery of the Mamelukes. The Turks, in a more restricted area, spread their power from Delhi to the Danube, and it was only by a miracle that the prophecy of the Sultan who boasted that he would stable his horse in St. Peter's, was not fulfilled; it was not the least of the services of the Greeks that they served as a bulwark against the storm for so long. In ancient times there was no parallel to this enormous and blighting expansion; then the driving power, in numbers, stability, and organisation, came from the West, and then too the conqueror was a pupil, not a grim destroyer. But in both ages it was their position in the cockpit of the world that ruined the Greeks.

The other cause of that ruin was psychological, and

was equally evident among the classical Hellenes and the mediaeval Romaioi. It was the peculiar, intractable love of independence that created the stubborn autonomous city-state of Demosthenes and the equally stubborn "autocephalous" church of Michael Caerularios, Mark of Ephesus, and Gennadios. The forms were different; fundamentally the instinct was the same. Whatever the autocratic aims of the Byzantine Caesars may have had to say to the original schism which put their church under their thumbs, it must not be forgotten that both Photius and Caerularios were strongly opposed by their respective Emperors, that in the fifteenth century the efforts of later Emperors to heal the breach were unavailing against the fanatic opposition of the people, and that all along the people identified Orthodoxy with Greek nationality, just as a fifth century Greek would have identified Hellenism with the worship of the Pythian Apollo. And it should be remembered that all great Byzantine statesmen saw clearly how closely bound up were their true interests with the unity of the Christian Church. More than anything else, the rupture of union made co-operation between the West and the Greeks impossible; and without some co-operation, the Eastern Empire was doomed. It is a complete mistake to assume, as a "Times" reviewer does, that the Popes could have saved Constantinople if they had been less insistent upon union of the Churches. They would have found it hard enough even had union been secured; without it, all their appeals to the rude and prejudiced chivalry of the West could and did produce little result. The story of the schism, with the strange parallel there is between its origin and Cranmer's schism in England—both had a royal divorce for their motive—is told, with the utmost clearness as to its political effects, by two Catholic writers in the Cambridge volume. It may be permitted here again to emphasise how thoroughly in harmony with the old Greek mentality it was.

It would be ridiculous to deny that there were many imperfections in Byzantine civilisation, or to maintain that the accomplishment of the mediaeval Greeks was on the level of those of antiquity. They were hardly so much creators as guardians of a great tradition; but they were worthy guardians, and it is not to be thought that their tradition was altogether dead and unfruitful. When they are compared with the Greeks of post-Alexandrian times, it is surprising how much they resemble them. Great poetry was as dead now as it had been since Callimachus and his contemporaries killed it; but there was poetry of a most sincere kind, based largely upon a popular religious feeling with which the frigid Euhemerism of the Alexandrians cannot be at all compared; and learning, widespread and multifarious, flourished hand in hand with a certain taste for a meretricious kind of mechanical science, the achievements of which were used to mystify barbarian strangers, like the golden tree, the roaring automatic lions and birds, the telegraphic apparatus of Theophilus (829-842), and the celebrated Greek fire, so long the terror of armies. Above all, architecture and art were prized from the end of the Image-breaking period to the last great days of Mistrá; the Empire was studded with monasteries that were veritable museums, and even yet the remains of Byzantine churches are as precious memorials as those of classic temples that stand side by side with them. It is well known that the great early Italian painters like Giotto worked upon the Byzantine tradition, some of whose products are not inferior to their own.

But it was in learning and the writing of history that the Byzantines were greatest. The University of Constantinople, founded in the fifth century by Theodosius II, revived in the ninth century by that Caesar Bardas who was the patron of Photius, and protected with every care by the Macedonian Emperors of the tenth century, was a school in which law, medicine,

science, philosophy, and classical literature were studied zealously and professed by brilliant teachers; the sequence of Byzantine scholars, from Photius to Planudes, Moschopoulos and Triclinius, is as great as was produced in any age; and that this learning was not all dry as dust is shown by the Platonic enthusiasm of Psellos and in the latest days by that odd reformer of political and social doctrine, Gemistos Plethon. In every century there were brilliant historians and antiquarians, Emperors among their number, whose style often rivalled the models of antiquity. In every department of learning, art, and science, the Greeks were before all the world until the Turkish conquest; and it should be noted that in the hands of their jurists Roman law underwent many modifications to suit Christian ideas and new circumstances, and that, in the words of Finlay, "the accession of Leo the Isaurian opened a new era," and put an end to the period during which "the institutions of Imperial Rome had thwarted the law of man's existence which impels him to better his condition." The subjects of the Empire enjoyed during its whole later period an advantage only occasionally granted elsewhere—the advantage of a systematic and well-ordered legal administration; education was widespread, and the highest careers were open to the basest-born if they were worthy of them.

In all this civilisation there were naturally periods of advance and retrogression, of greater or less security, greater or less artistic taste and skill, greater or less warlike or diplomatic success; but it may be said that once the dark transitional period that succeeded the reign of Justinian was over, once the Greek race had taken the Empire for their own, there was a slow and steady progress in learning and art, so that the last days of terrible conflict and confusion are the most crowded with glorious names of all. The system on which the Empire was governed may have been bureaucratic, and

the life of the Imperial palace may have had its bad features; but that system was marvellously suited for its purpose, and elastic enough to be adapted to innumerable changes of circumstance; and in spite of endless ceremonial, gaudy pomp, and semi-Oriental seclusion, the great palace of Constantinople again and again produced first-rate warriors and statesmen. Byzantine warfare seems at first sight less exciting than the Western wars of the period, but that was only because it was more scientific; as in everything else the mediaeval Greeks were thorough in their military education, and every noble knew his tactics as fully as his Homer. The Greeks now, as of old, drew elements of strength from every nation with whom they came in contact; they were semi-Oriental, as they always had been—a fact too often lost sight of by exponents of rigid classicism—and they had learned the lesson of Roman order, Roman law, and Roman discipline; and from both Rome and the East they doubtless picked up many vices, to which they added not a few of their own. In mediaeval, as in ancient and modern times, they were inquisitive, argumentative, slippery, proud and quarrelsome, quick-witted, sea-farers and traders. If they took from all sides they gave much in return—their mark is made on the East of both Slav, Semite, and Turanian. They had to play a hard part in the old, the middle, and the new world, once robbed and imitated, now despised and betrayed, their great gifts and services met with small thanks. It is something that we are nowadays better able than when Gibbon wrote to appraise their record, to recognise and appreciate the marvellous continuity of their national language and character during four thousand years, and to set in its true place the history of a period in which their gifts and genius for a second time lit up the world as only their fathers had done before.

MICHAEL TIERNEY.

COOPERATION OF STATE AND CITIZEN IN IRISH FORESTRY

BY PROFESSOR AUGUSTINE HENRY, M.A.

THIS article is divided into two parts. The first part deals with certain aspects of Irish Forestry which I consider to be most deserving of immediate attention by the Government. These are (1) Afforestation and Unemployment; (2) Necessity of legislation compelling private owners to replant felled areas; (3) Foundation of a Forestry School for the training of woodmen; (4) Establishment of State Nurseries for the distribution of trees, free or at cost price, to small holders of land.

The second part of the article is a general statement concerning the objects of forestry and the cultivation of trees in Ireland. In it I give a short history of State Afforestation in Ireland. I also try to define the respective spheres in which the Central Government, the County Councils, and private citizens might cooperate in the three objects discussed—namely, the production of timber, the provision of shelter, and the beautifying of our land.

Forestry and Unemployment.

Some years ago afforestation work for unemployed men was advocated; but it met with little support, as various objections of an *a priori* nature were urged. Afforestation work by Local Authorities, during the trade depression of 1908 and 1909, had not been very successful. Some of the planting had been hastily undertaken with a view to finding immediate employment for men out of work, and generally without proper advice or expert supervision. Mr. Henzell, Waterworks Engineer of Leeds, gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Coasts

Erosion in 1909, which was very adverse to the use of the 'unemployed' of towns in planting trees. He said much of the work on the Leeds area was badly done, as the men were unaccustomed to the spade and few of them were able to stand the rough weather of winter. Mr. Watson, Bradford Waterworks Engineer, was equally adverse in 1905 to afforestation as a solution of the difficult problem of unemployment in large towns. It is possible that the housing of men close to the mountain areas to be planted was then a considerable factor in making the problem difficult. Now-a-days, men can be carried in motors from their homes in the towns to the scene of their work; and since the war, army huts have been available at a cheap price.

At any rate, an experiment on a large scale was carried out in Great Britain during the winter of 1921-22; and the results show that afforestation is an effective method of giving work to the 'unemployed.' The great advantage of forestry work is that it is mainly done in winter, when the demand for ordinary agricultural labour is slack. This is the crux of the problem.

In November, 1921, £250,000 from the Unemployment Fund was allocated in Great Britain to the Forestry Commissioners, and the results were quite satisfactory. A large increase was made in the area under trees, and much relief was given to those out of work. The Forestry Commissioners were empowered to make grants for planting schemes to private owners and to corporate bodies, unencumbered by any conditions except that unemployed labour must be engaged. These grants were in fact bonuses, £2 and £3 per acre being given as a free gift to owners both (1) for planting suitable land and (2) for clearing areas to get them ready for planting. The Second Annual Report of the Forestry Commission states that, "notwithstanding the inherent difficulty of organising and in many cases of improvising forestry work with

unskilled or semi-skilled labour, they were able to make contracts with land-owners and corporate bodies for the planting of 11,000 acres, and the preparation of land for the planting of nearly 11,500 acres, an important addition to the woods of Great Britain." Lord Lovat, the head of the Forestry Commission, pointed out that, for every £100 granted by the State, labour obtained £273 as the result of private enterprise.

These statements only embrace a part of the beneficent work carried out by the Forestry Unemployment Grant, as no mention is made of the schemes carried out with the help of this fund by the Forestry Commissioners on their own land. Similar grants for afforestation work in relief of unemployment have been repeated in England, Scotland, and Wales in 1922, 1923, and 1924.

The Forestry Commission ceased to finance forestry operations in Ireland at the end of March, 1922; but before that date they had sanctioned 14 unemployment schemes for Ireland, comprising altogether 1,057 acres for planting and 220 acres for making ready.

It would be feasible, if the money were forthcoming, to inaugurate in Ireland schemes for afforestation by the use of unemployed labour during the present winter, the planting season being reckoned to begin on 1st November, 1924, and to end on 1st April, 1925. Such schemes could be carried out in two ways:—

(*a*) by the Irish Forestry Branch on their own forestry centres in various parts of Ireland.

(*b*) by private landowners and by municipalities.

The encouragement to landowners and municipalities would be free grants on the British plan. Such money would not be wasted, as the grants would not be given except on stringent conditions. Perhaps £100,000 of public money could be economically spent, if grants were made to private owners and to corporate bodies, as well as to the Irish Forestry Branch. If schemes were confined to the latter, £50,000 might possibly be

utilised in wages to the 'unemployed' in planting on the areas already in the possession of the State. The writer is of the opinion that money spent on bonuses to private owners for planting under supervision, would be a ready way to abate unemployment in rural districts, and would act as a great stimulus to private enterprise and private benevolence.

Compulsory Replantation of Felled Areas.

Laws limiting the rights of private owners to their property are apt to have unforseen consequences. Caution is here necessary. People will not plant timber trees, unless there is a reasonable prospect of gain to themselves or their heirs by the sale of the timber. Nevertheless, in most European countries laws have been passed and regulations framed which do interfere considerably with private ownership of forests. In France no one is allowed to turn a woodland to another use, such as agriculture, pasture, building, without previous permission by the Forest Administration. The effect of this legislation is to keep up a good deal of unprofitable and bad forest, which the owner neglects, as there is no law compelling him to grow trees properly. In most countries there are special districts in the mountains, where felling is prohibited, unless it is done in such a way as to keep the wooded state of the area intact.

An extreme instance of forest legislation is seen in the Canton of Neuchatel in Switzerland, where no tree can be marked for felling, unless in the presence and with the permission of a Cantonal Forest Officer. In compensation for this, the forest owner can call on the Canton for subsidies in making forest roads, while the protection of his woods from theft and wilful damage is entirely at the expense of the Government.

In Ireland, the main trouble lies, not so much in the reckless felling of the timber, as in leaving the ground unplanted. Such land becomes waste, covered with weeds

and scrub, worthless to the owner, and diminishing the resources of the country.

A regulation compelling the replanting of any felled area, say over half an acre in extent, might be made without doing the owner real injury. The simplest plan to enforce this might be legislation, which would oblige the owner of woods to deposit with the State a certain percentage of the money obtained by the sale of the timber, which sum would be refunded to him as soon as replanting had been carried out to the satisfaction of the Forest Officer. This would necessitate official inspection of woods before felling. As replanting would normally be done as soon as possible after felling, the owner would only be out of the deposit for under a year. This proposed regulation requires deliberation.

Some notice should be taken of the barbarous manner in which street trees are mutilated in Dublin and other towns in Ireland. Corporations should be compelled to seek the advice of the Forest Officer, who might be assisted by a special committee of representatives of the painters, sculptors and architects of the city.

Need of a Forestry School.

The need of a School for training woodmen is obvious. At present three schools for woodmen have been established in Great Britain by the Forestry Commission. The young men who left Avondale Forestry School in the decade before it was closed in 1914 were immensely improved in their general education, as well as thoroughly trained in forest operations, carpentry, etc. and have had as a rule successful careers. In Part II an account of the Avondale School is given; and there is no need to amend the curriculum that was in force till 1914.

With regard to other branches of Forestry Education, the course for Forest Officers and for others requiring a technical training in Forestry which has been taught in

the College of Science, need not be altered. This course is of four years' duration and leads to a Diploma in Forestry. It is now generally admitted that agricultural students should obtain, in their period of training, an elementary knowledge of forestry. This has been a compulsory subject for such students at the College of Science since 1913.

Establishment of State Nurseries.

One of the simplest methods of encouraging the planting of trees for shelter and ornament, is the provision of seedlings by the State to farmers and labourers, either free of charge or at cost price. A great amount of experience in this matter is on record, as young trees for planting are distributed by the government in parts of the United States, and in the Dominions of Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, and Australia. This subject was threshed out at the British Empire Forestry Conference held in London in 1920. In Canada, during the last 20 years, about 70,000,000 young trees were distributed by the State. South Australia, for over 37 years, has given free to practically all who apply for forest plants; and in this period 55,000 different institutions and individuals received over 10,000,000 seedlings. It was debated in London whether the trees should be given free or at cost price; and ultimately the following unanimous resolution was passed at the Conference :—" Distribution of Forest Plants. The Conference have had brought to their attention the advantages which have accrued in several parts of the Empire from the wide distribution of forest plants, and desire to bring the method of encouraging tree-planting by distribution of plants either from Government or private nurseries, gratuitously or at cost price, to the earnest attention of their Governments."

It may be objected that State Nurseries compete unfairly with private nursery firms; but experience

shows that the latter really gain by the advertisement given to planting by the State Nurseries. In every county in Ireland there should be one or more State Nurseries, established at convenient centres, with a trained forester in charge, competent to give advice to those requiring forestry plants. The young trees might be given free of charge to labourers and small tenants, and at cost price to larger owners.

PART II.

Trees are grown for ornament, for shelter, and for timber. These are distinct purposes, all praiseworthy, but requiring different means to carry out. It will be well to explain this, as much confusion exists in the minds of the people, who are not generally aware of the distinction.

Forestry means the growing of trees in dense masses over extensive tracts of land for the production of timber, which is an indispensable material of civilised life. The trees are cut down, when they attain a size large enough to yield useful wood. Such plantations involve great initial expense, and can only be carried out by large landowners, or by the State, or by some public body. Afforestation involves the idea of ultimate profit from the sale of the timber, and should be based on sound business principles.

In ornamental planting, the production of timber is not the object sought. The aim is to beautify the scene. Trees enhance the charm both of town and country, and really add to human happiness. A house in the country without trees is scarce worthy of the name of home. As long as they remain sound, ornamental trees ought to be spared. Old trees become linked with the history of a place, and are a source of joy from generation to generation. Much may be done all over Ireland in the way of planting trees for beauty alone. There is room around the church, the public hall, and

the school playing ground, for a few trees to give these places of meeting an air of distinction. Everyone can see that the planting of trees for ornament is different from the big question of afforestation, as being a matter that can be dealt with either by individual effort or by small local committees.

The third important use of trees is in providing shelter of various kinds, as for farmsteads and labourers' cottages, and for pasture land and crops. The creation of shelter belts often merits encouragement and assistance from county councils, as will be shown in the sequel.

Let us now consider the big question of afforestation, which has engaged the attention of public men for many years and has been the subject of several inquiries by Government Commissions. The need of afforestation in Ireland is almost universally admitted. Ireland has less woodland area in proportion to its population than any other country in Europe. In 1914, out of Ireland's total extent of 20,000,000 acres, the woodlands only covered 296,493 acres, most of them being poor in quality and carrying an insufficient stock of trees. During the war some 10,000 acres of the best were cut down, so only 286,000 acres remain, quite insufficient for our needs. This woodland area, of which 248,000 acres are in the Free State, seems very small when we take into account the fact that nearly ten times its amount, some 2,500,000 acres, is classified as "rough grazing," that is, land of little value in its present use, but of which at least one-third would be capable of growing excellent timber, if planted with the right species of trees.

Our native supply of timber, the amount which can be cut out of the small area of existing woodland, is insufficient for our industries. Timber, coal, iron, and food production are the four great "key industries," and Ireland is especially weak in the first of those. In past years we relied mainly on supplies of timber from abroad, which up to 1914 came into our ports at a low

price. The days of cheap imported timber are gone for ever. This is certain, owing to the clearance everywhere of the virgin forest, and the necessary demands for timber by the growing populations of the United States, Canada, Russia, Finland and Scandinavia, the great forest countries.

Unless great efforts are made now to increase the area of our plantations, Ireland will in the course of the next twenty or thirty years be grievously handicapped in all its industries by the lack of timber. The farmer will suffer severely by the high price of tools, fencing, gates and buildings. Butter and egg boxes becoming expensive, his profits will be lessened in the export trade. Wood for furniture, factories, housing, railway sleepers, telegraph poles, will also be wanting in increasing quantities. How will Ireland raise coal from her mines unless a cheap and constant supply of mining timber is available ? Every ton of coal now raised requires an expenditure of nearly one shilling in the shape of pit props, and this item tends to advance in cost. Again in many farming districts where peat has been cut to a finish, a famine in fuel is threatened. Woodlands yield, in addition to timber, large quantities of fuel in the shape of firewood. For fuel alone, the production of the home-grown timber in some parts of the country is advisable.

To be dependent on foreign countries for the greater part of our timber supply is not a wise policy. The building up of a national timber reserve in State forests was pronounced by the Forestry Reconstruction Report of 1918 to be a military necessity, as a country should include in its own resources sufficient forest to make it independent of foreign supplies in case of emergency. The need in Ireland is, however, pressing even in time of peace. We ought to provide within our own shores for a cheap and adequate supply of timber, if our farmers, miners, and mechanics are to work in the future on equal terms with the foreigner.

The difficulties of afforestation lie in the cost of

acquiring the land suitable for growing forest trees, and in the expenses of planting. Fortunately, suitable land for afforestation is not dear land. It is undesirable, on sound principles of economy, even if it were feasible, to take away, for purposes of afforestation, from the farmer any arable land or ordinary pasture.

We have already pointed out that the land suitable for afforestation is as a rule the so-called waste land, which in its present state is mostly covered with heather, whin, bracken or rushes, and yields only a scanty return as "rough grazing." The advances that have been made in the art of forestry are enormous. We are now able to plant trees which grow fast and yield useful timber in a short term of years. Species like the Douglas fir and the Sitka spruce give astonishing returns in Ireland, the former being adapted to dry soils and sheltered conditions, the latter thriving in wet soils and exposed situations. With these two species and the Corsican pine, Japanese and European larches, poor land at moderate elevations will yield good timber ready for felling at fifty or sixty years old. Most of the existing woods in Ireland, being insufficiently stocked, afford no criterion of what could be produced with proper species and good management.

There is one important point which, however, must be mentioned. Certain essential kinds of timber, as ash, oak, and elm cannot be grown fast, and are consequently not attractive as an investment. Nevertheless, this class of timber must be grown to provide for the needs of our industries, and it cannot be grown on poor mountain soil. These trees require good soil at a low elevation. The demesnes and existing woodlands, even if they are good enough land to farm, ought to be retained for growing these valuable timber trees. *In no case* ought a public body like the Land Commission *be permitted to convert a wooded demesne into farm land. Such demesnes should be reserved to the State forestry authority.*

Afforestation on a large scale can only be done by the State ; the returns come in at a distant date, and do not tempt private individuals as an investment. National ownership is also best calculated to secure the maximum production of timber from wooded areas. In foreign countries, like France and Germany, the State forests, which are systematically managed, are found to be on an average about twice as productive as the private forests. Privately owned woodlands are subject to the needs and whims of successive proprietors, and are rarely managed in a steady way over a long succession of years.

I may here allude to the importance of forestry operations on a large scale in connection with rural economy. Nearly all forestry work is done in the season when agricultural work is slackest. Farmers want labour from March to October ; but give much less employment in the winter. Operations which provide employment for agricultural labourers in the winter are especially valuable in Ireland. The work of planting, fencing, thinning, felling, carting and sawing would be a desirable supplement to existing occupations in rural districts. This consideration should render farmers sympathetic to State forestry in their neighbourhood.

State afforestation commenced in Ireland in 1904. In 1908 the Department of Agriculture held an important inquiry, at which evidence was given by forestry experts, landowners, timber merchants, and business men using timber on a considerable scale, etc. ; and the following recommendations were agreed to in the Report which was drawn up :—

> I. The Government in Ireland to acquire and plant 200,000 acres of waste land in large blocks, and to acquire 50,000 acres of existing woodland, together costing a sum of £2,860,000 spread over fifty years. There would be an excess of income over expenditure after the fiftieth year, the calculation being that there would be a yield of

$4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the total capital invested. Timber would be available as thinnings from the twentieth year onwards.

II. The County Councils were to acquire 50,000 acres of the smaller existing woods, the funds to come from the striking of a local $\frac{1}{2}$d. or 1d. rate, the purchase money to be paid in instalments.

These 200,000 acres of new plantations, in addition to the 300,000 acres of existing woods, would have made 500,000 acres of woodland at the end of fifty years, all of which would have been obtained without trespassing on a single acre of farm land. It was hoped that another 500,000 acres of the available and suitable waste land would be planted gradually by private owners, and County Councils, etc., so that by the end of eighty years Ireland would have 1,000,000 acres of woodlands, the amount deemed necessary for the agricultural and industrial needs of the country.

Such was the programme advocated in 1908, but public opinion was not ripe for such measures, either in Ireland or in Great Britain. However, the Department's actual programme until 1918 exceeded anything done by the Government in England or Scotland until that year.

The Department of Agriculture up to 1912 had acquired twelve properties in Ireland where forestry operations have been carried on, planting, replanting, felling, etc. The area of these twelve forest centres—four in Ulster, two in Connaught, three in Leinster, and three in Munster—was 6,591 acres.

The Department also acquired, by aid of Development Grants, other land for planting, mainly mountain grazing and waste land, namely :—Glendalough 2,159 acres, Aughrim 1,127 acres, Slieve Bloom 3,140 acres, and Ballyhoura 2,696 acres, totalling 9,128 acres. The Department, by 1919, had thus acquired 15,719 acres of woods and plantable waste land, the total cost being £60,625. This included land valued at £30,507,

which was acquired from the Estates Commissioners when land was passing from landlord to tenant.

In conjunction with the Forestry Commission, which was appointed in 1919, the Department acquired until the beginning of 1922 a further area of about 8,000 acres in Ireland. Since the Treaty the progress of afforestation by the Government has been accelerated in the Free State, additional land being acquired and planting operations notably increased. The total area in hand on the 30th September, 1923, was 25,702 acres, distributed over seventeen Forestry centres—at Aghrane, Aughrim, Avondale, Bailieboro, Ballyfad, Ballyhoura, Camolin, Clogheen, Dundrum, Glencree, Glendalough, Glenmalure, Kilrush, Rathnew, Slieve Bloom, Suir Valley, and Woodford. Further information is given by Mr. A. C. Forbes in a review of the forestry work done in Ireland under his able direction from 1906 onwards, which was published in the 22nd Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, pages 126-130.

One of the most pressing needs for the improvement of existing woods in Ireland was a higher standard of forestry knowledge. The Department, therefore, in 1904 acquired Avondale, the old home of Parnell in Wicklow, consisting of 150 acres of woodland and 400 acres of grassland, on which to conduct experimental planting, and establish a forestry school for workmen. Six working apprentices were taken in annually, and given a course of training for two years. The Avondale Forestry School proved very successful till 1914, when it was closed. We hope that it will shortly be re-opened.

Planting began at Avondale in 1905, and over 100 plots, varying in size from one to three acres, were made in the two or three years following. Now, after 17 to 19 years' growth, the progress of the different species can be seen. Some, like Douglas Fir, Sitka Spruce, Japanese Larch and European Larch, have made astounding growth, and have already produced saleable thinnings.

The County Councils have done exceedingly little in the acquisition of woods. Five counties have made a beginning. Kildare has 580 acres, Westmeath 95 acres, Limerick 59 acres, Cavan 40 acres, and Louth 6 acres. It is worthy of note that in Kildare, out of the total 580 acres, nearly one-third, 170 acres, were presented to the County Council by a local land-owner. In another county 101 acres of wood were offered in 1917 by the Estates Commissioners to the County Council, but the latter refused to strike a rate for the preservation and maintenance of the wood.

It is doubtful if County Councils will ever be willing to spend much in the purchase and maintenance of existing woods that are being disposed of when estates are being sold to tenants. County Councils will also be unwilling to embark on schemes for the afforestation of tracts of waste land. These duties are much better left in the hands of the central government, which has already a competent staff engaged in planting schemes and in the management of the State forestry centres. The work that can be well done by the County Councils consists in encouraging and assisting farmers to plant shelter belts and small bits of land unsuitable for cultivation.

In fact the principle may be laid down that :—

1. Planting on a large scale for the production of timber should be left to the State and to large landowners. Land-owners should be invited to lease suitable land for planting to the Government. Produce-sharing schemes have been devised by which the landowner provides the land and the Government does the planting, but the simple lease may prove more attractive, and will be less troublesome to the State, as the dearer cost of the purchase of land is not incurred at the outset.

2. Planting for shelter.—This is a work, as already mentioned, in which county councils could

do a great deal of useful work at no great expense to the ratepayer.

Planting for shelter is much more important than it is usually believed to be in Ireland, the most wind-swept country in Europe. In Oregon, U.S.A., where the mightiest forests in the world are being cleared away, the dairy farmers have found that cows which are pastured in fields exposed to the prevailing wind gave 20 per cent. less milk than those which graze in fields where the shelter of trees has been retained. In the West of Ireland generally, the gardens of the gentry, which are provided with shelter, are remarkable for the wealth and variety of their shrubs, flowers, and vegetables, surpassing those of the sister island. The peasants in their exposed fields can never fatten cattle, and in some seasons lose by wind a great part of their corn crop. In the absence of shelter, they are unable to raise fruit, like apples, which might be one of the most profitable industries in the West. In fact, the whole problem of the West, as well as of all hilly districts in Ireland, is the provision of shelter. Planting for shelter is expensive, when it is done on a small scale, on account of the cost of fencing necessary to protect young trees from cattle, goats, rabbits, etc. To the labourer or small farmer, the cost of fencing is often prohibitive. Young trees can be obtained at such cheap rates that their cost need never deter anyone from planting. Some provision ought then to be made to aid the small holder in the matter of fencing.

Experiments in the United States have shown that in the immediate neighbourhood of peat bogs the temperature is lowered, causing late frosts, which are very harmful to crops like early potatoes. The planting of belts of trees around the peat mosses will prevent this chilling effect.

The Department introduced various schemes by which, in co-operation with the County Councils, farmers

are enabled to plant trees for shelter on their holdings, viz. :—

1. By the Horticultural Scheme, Clause IX, forest trees and shrubs are supplied by the County Committees of Agriculture. In 1922, no less than 271,479 trees and shrubs were distributed.

2. Special shelter belt schemes for certain counties. In Kildare during 1921-1922 twelve holders obtained 23,045 trees. In Cork during the same season, fifteen holders obtained 5,660 trees, and in 1920-1921, fifteen holders obtained 20,500 trees. In Mayo, during 1921-1922, twenty-five holders obtained 14,400 trees. In Donegal during the ten years ending 1922, about 1,300,000 trees were planted by the special shelter belt scheme.

These schemes might be greatly extended at no great expense by the County Committees of Agriculture. There is no doubt that the establishment of nurseries, where trees could be obtained at cost price, would greatly encourage small farmers to plant trees for shelter and ornament. Such nurseries might be placed at convenient centres under the control of a forest officer employed by the county council. The officer would give advice free of charge as to the proper species and best methods of planting trees. Prizes might also be given for the best plantations and shelter belts.

On most farms there is some waste land, odd corners too rocky or too steep for cultivation, areas covered with whin or bracken, etc., which could very well be planted with trees. Plantations of a half-acre to five or even ten acres are often feasible on poor soils and situations. These small plantations would give some shelter, and would ultimately yield rough timber that would turn out useful in an agricultural district.

Much can be done in the way of planting trees by private effort. This will sometimes require co-operation. Thus, in a mountainous district, where a number of

neighbouring farmers hold in common a tract of grazing land, the formation of shelter belts can best be carried out by a combined scheme. Such shelter belts will prove of great utility, not only in providing protection in severe weather for sheep and cattle, but also in ameliorating both the adjoining pasture and the farm land situated at a lower elevation.

Planting on a small scale for shelter and ornament is work that will often be done by local effort, and, wherever possible, a committee should be formed in a village or rural district for the encouragement of tree-planting. This may be made a branch of activity by the local Farmers' Society, by the United Irishwomen, or any other society that may happen to be flourishing in the district.

Of all the non-official efforts that I know, the most promising is the planting scheme instituted at Roundwood, in Wicklow, by the Togher Agricultural Association, a local and unsubsidised society, which annually gives prizes in the shape of artistic certificates that are hung in the homes of those who have made plantations during the year. The farmers' daughters in the neighbourhood, which is bleak and at a high elevation, have enthusiastically taken up the movement. It was inaugurated in 1901 by the planting of a screen of trees around the parish church by Canon Fagan, P.P. The next step was to establish a shelter belt on the exposed side of the fair green. Standing on the hill below the church one can see more than twenty farm houses, all of which have been provided with shelter belts properly fenced and taken care of. In 1914, in one week at Roundwood, 8,400 trees were planted by fifty people in the district, and 5,500 trees by twenty-one persons in the adjoining district. In 1915, 1916, and 1917, an average of 9,000 forest trees were planted annually in the neighbourhood of Roundwood. In addition, ornamental shrubs and hedges were planted in great quantity.

A record of the Secretary, inscribed on his planting certificate and hung in a conspicuous place in his best room, is :—

1891—Planted one hundred trees on taking possession of his farm.

1906—Another set planted on his marriage.

1907—Fifty trees planted when the new Vartry Reservoir was commenced.

1909—Fifty trees planted when he purchased his farm under the Land Act.

1910—One hundred trees planted when the National University was founded.

1911.—Fifty trees again planted.

Schemes might also be tried by which schools in rural districts should take up the question of planting trees.

It is evident, in conclusion, that the subject of afforestation has a wide bearing on the prosperity and happiness of Ireland. It is also evident that afforestation is not a subject in which the Irish people as a whole are much interested. Trees, in the eyes of our farmers, are meant to be felled ; they are a useless encumbrance on the land. If a movement for the reafforestation of Ireland is to succeed, then it must, like every other movement, first win popular sympathy, and popular sympathy can be won only by the spoken and written word. No one can do more to preserve the few trees we have or increase their number than priests in country districts.

Augustine Henry.

CHRONICLE

I—The Priest-Chancellor of Austria

BY A. RAYBOULD

THOSE who were present at Dr. Seipel's inaugural speech as Chancellor in May, 1922, could not fail to be impressed by the unique character of the event and the personality of the speaker. In the catastrophic upheaval of 1918-1919 the Austrian Empire had fallen to pieces. Some of these pieces, like Czechoslovakia, had set themselves up as independent states and had weathered the storm. But Austria proper was a rudderless ship drifting straight for the rocks. In the panic and confusion all on board, both socialists and bourgeois, appealed to Dr. Seipel to take command of the ship. Though Austria has always been a Catholic country, this is the first time since 1618 that it has had a priest as Chancellor. And if it has one now, the simple reason is that the people had confidence in no other leader capable of saving them from shipwreck.

Dr. Seipel was born in 1876 of humble bourgeois parents. He passed his youth in the industrial centre of Meidling, a few miles outside Vienna, and there attended the gymnasium. Having completed his secondary course, he entered the University of Vienna as a student of the theological faculty. He was ordained in 1899, and was given charge of a country district. This afforded him an opportunity of studying the conditions of life among the agricultural classes, and he took every advantage of the opportunity. Recalled to Vienna, he continued the study of labour and economic problems, whilst preparing for the degree of D.D. In 1908 he entered his name as candidate for an assistant professorship in Moral Theology. The subject of his thesis or *Habilitierungschrift* was "The Ethical Aspect of Economics as taught by the Fathers," a subject which already shows the orientation of his mind towards the great problems of the day.

After a year at the University of Vienna Dr. Seipel was called to Salzburg as professor of Moral Theology. Here he taught for eight years, acting also, during part of the time, as editor of the *Katholische Kirchenzeitung*. Every spare moment was devoted to the study of social, economic, and educational questions. It was at this time, and as a result of his interest in social problems, that he came into contact with Heinrich Lammasch, the well-known

Austrian jurist. Lammasch was evidently deeply impressed by the young priest; for six or seven years later he will appoint him Minister of Social Welfare in the last Government of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Amongst the writings published by Dr. Seipel during these years we may mention: "With our Eucharistic God" (1909), "Saint Ambrose of Milan" (1913), "The Truths of the Redemption" (1914), "Nation and State" (1916). This last work was the fruit of extensive study, and was intended to form a theoretic basis for the solution of the Austro-Hungarian problem. Seipel himself drew from it his "Suggestions for the Reform of the Austrian Constitution," which he published in 1917. It was in this year that he was recalled once more to the University of Vienna as successor to Schindler in the Chair of Moral Theology.

Owing to the growth of national consciousness among the various peoples who formed the Austro-Hungarian Empire, it was admitted by most statesmen, long before the Great War, that some radical change in the Constitution was necessary. The most common change advocated was a federation of autonomous states; and it was said that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, whose assassination on June 28, 1924, precipitated the War, favoured this solution. But no attempt was made to apply this solution until Austria was on the point of collapse in 1918. It was then that the Emperor Charles called on Professor Lammasch, whom he appointed Chancellor, to save the Empire by the application of some form of federalism. Lammasch, as already stated, named Dr. Seipel Minister of Social Welfare; and Seipel took up the cause of federalism with energy and enthusiasm. But this solution of Austrian difficulties came too late; the Empire was doomed; its dissolution could not be arrested by any compromise however ingenious.

A mild revolution broke out in Vienna. Communism held sway for some days; but it had no Lenin to direct and consolidate the movement. A kind of hybrid institution, called "The Imperial Republic," replaced the defunct monarchy. The chief Catholic party, the *Christliche Soziale Partei*, was divided between loyalty to the Hapsburgs and support of a republican form of government. This gave the Socialists their chance, and they polled a majority in the elections. A Socialist Ministry was formed; but, unable to maintain a majority, it was soon replaced by a coalition government. The work of destruction and reconstruction continued. Titles were abolished; education was tampered with; war was waged against the old system of bureaucracy. And all this time the

economic conditions grew worse. The Treaty of Saint Germain deprived Austria of the provinces from which she drew food, fuel, and raw material for her industries. The result was famine and financial bankruptcy. Social and economic conditions reached such a state of chaos that the apathy of despair spread like a plague.

During this terrible period of transition little was heard of Dr. Seipel. Nevertheless he was working quietly behind the scenes. In 1919 he had been elected a member of the Council of State, and soon made himself felt by his vigorous eloquence and his sane ideas. Though he bitterly deplored the break-up of the Empire, still he did not waste time in useless regrets or allow himself to be paralysed by the general atmosphere of despair. He proceeded at once to rally his party to the republican idea. Calm and courteous in debate, he was ready to compromise whenever compromise did not mean the sacrifice of principle. A politician of keen intellect and active imagination, he always had definite plans for every emergency, and these he could express in clear and forcible language. The result was that, by a natural process of evolution, he became the acknowledged leader of the Christian Social Party.

At the general election of October, 1920, the Christian Social Party obtained eighty-three seats, the Social Democrats sixty-six, and the Pan-Germans twenty-one. This was a decisive victory for the Catholics ; but the Pan-Germans held the balance of power, and for over a year they declined to come to a definite agreement with the Christian Social Party. During this time Dr. Seipel played a waiting policy ; the hour for intervention had not yet struck. At last, on May 24, 1922, Parliament forced Chancellor Schober, " the strong man of Vienna," to resign. It was dissatisfied with the treaty signed at Lana between Czechoslovakia and Austria. The little republic, with no captain on the bridge, had entered upon a stormy sea. The exchange value of the Austrian crown was falling rapidly ; strikes and demonstrations of the unemployed became a growing menace ; the rise of prices kept pace with the fall of the crown. In such a crisis no one naturally had any desire to take command of the storm-tossed vessel.

It was now the time for the Cassandras to come out from their dark places. They had always prophesied that Austria could not exist as an independent unit : the treaty of Versailles had killed her. In the complex of states which constituted the Hapsburg Monarchy she had been able to live because she drew corn from Hungary, coal from Bohemia, metals from Silesia, petrol from Galicia. The only possible solution is union with Germany. After all, she is now really a detached fragment of Germany—a *Germania*

irredenta. This is the thesis of all Pan-Germans, and it is the thesis also of many in the Christian Social Party.

It is not, however, the view of Dr. Seipel. He believes that Austria can exist as an independent unit, and he showed the courage of his convictions by shouldering the grave responsibilities of the Chancellorship. On the day following Schober's resignation he exposed, before a specially convened meeting of the Christian Social Party, his scheme of national reconstruction. The scheme contained some very drastic measures. But only drastic measures could save the tottering state, and Dr. Seipel's audience expressed their enthusiastic approval by repeated cries of "We want Seipel as Chancellor," "We want Seipel." Support of his own Party, however, was not enough; he must also win the support of the Pan-Germans. This he did at the congress of the Party held in Graz on May 26–28. The Pan-Germans, who are mainly liberals and freemasons, reluctantly consented to a union with the militant Catholics of the Christian Social Party; but they saw no other course of action open to them. Their policy of union with Germany was at the moment quite impossible of realisation: Germany herself was collapsing and could not be of any assistance to Austria.

On May 31, 1922, a coalition ministry was formed with Mgr. Seipel as Chancellor. When it is a question of principle, Mgr. Seipel is as unbending as iron. He accepted the collaboration of the Pan-Germans and allowed three portfolios to go to them; but he laid down very stringent conditions. All propaganda in favour of union with Germany must be abandoned. There was one supreme question, the economic salvation of Austria; to the solution of this question everything else must be subordinated. Mgr. Seipel promised that no religious or educational questions would come up for discussion without previous consultation and agreement with the Pan-German leaders. But he was determined to safeguard the Catholic religion and Catholic schools by insisting that the Minister for Education must be a member of the Christian Social Party and a man of his own choice. He selected Dr. Emil Schneider, a schoolmaster of Dornbirn in Vorarlberg. The choice created some surprise and adverse comment at the time; for Schneider was not a prominent figure in the educational world. Mgr. Seipel, however, had his own reasons for selecting Schneider, and he refused to be frightened by hostile criticism.

The first months of Mgr. Seipel's tenure of office were very stormy. Before the Great War you could exchange a pound sterling for 24 Austrian crowns; in May, 1922, the exchange stood at 90,000, and it still continued to fall. A crisis was reached on

August 13, when the Austrian demand for the aid promised at Saint Germain was referred to the League of Nations. The moneys necessary for the importation of food supplies had already begun to fail before the Chancellor could call the attention of the world to the fact. With the exchange value of the crown still falling, he could not possibly avert the dreadful scourge of famine unless the Western nations came to his assistance. Twice at the gates of Vienna, in 1529 and 1683, Western Europe was saved from a Moslem invasion ; it was for Western Europe now to repay this debt. On August 20, 1922, Mgr. Seipel set out on his travels as a humble suppliant. He visited first Prague, Verona and Berlin. Then he went to Geneva, to lay the Austrian case before the League of Nations.

On September 16, Mgr. Seipel rose to address the members of the League—forty-four nations were represented. He made a solemn and moving appeal. It was a momentous hour in his career and in the life of his country, and he was equal to the great occasion. He pointed out the undeniable fact that foreign finance, by deliberately frustrating all efforts at self-help, was largely responsible for the ruin of Austria. Within the limitations imposed by the treaty of Saint Germain, it was impossible for Austria to become immediately independent. For a period of transition she must be granted outside aid ; but that period would not necessarily be of long duration. His people were industrious and prepared to make great sacrifices ; his country had plenty of natural resources. All that was needed was the inspiration of hope ; and that could be obtained easily by a credit grant from the Allied Powers. But if that were not forthcoming, and promptly, then Austria would cease to exist as an independent nation ; she would be forced to unite with some more powerful and prosperous neighbour.

It was an historic scene. There, in the most august of modern assemblies, with very few Catholic representatives, stood a Catholic priest appealing for help on behalf of his starving people. His appeal met with a response far beyond his expectations. A loan of about £20,000,000 was guaranteed by Great Britian, France, Italy, and Czechoslovakia. These Powers, naturally, did not guarantee the loan without imposing certain conditions. The international control of Austrian finances was the most galling of these conditions, and it was on this rock that the Socialists tried to wreck the Geneva Pact. Mgr. Seipel did not conceal from the League Assembly that he would have difficulties in getting his Parliament to ratify the Pact. That he recognised the most vulnerable part of the Pact was apparent in his concluding words,

words carefully chosen to convey the impression that the international control of Austrian finances must be of short duration : " How glorious it will be, if in years to come another Chancellor of Austria will stand in my place here, telling you that Austria has regained normal conditions. ' Our people live in peace and, though by no means rich, are happy in the midst of modest prosperity. Free us of your financial control. It is now no longer needed.' "

The economies and reforms demanded at Geneva were carried out by Mgr. Seipel with unexpected energy and promptitude. Even before the foreign credits had been fully utilised it became possible, by founding a national bank of issue and by reducing the number of government officials, to arrest the fall of the crown. With the crown stabilised—even at the fantastic figure of 70,000 to the dollar—the people at once regained hope ; a healthy optimism replaced their former listlessness ; the clouds had cleared from the horizon. New burdens of taxation had, of course, to be imposed in order to meet the obligation of foreign creditors ; but the people were ready to shoulder these new burdens, because they felt that it was no longer a labour of Sisyphus ; they would carry them to the top of the mountain, and then the promised land would be in sight.

It is unnecessary to say that every element of the population did not suffer in silence. The Socialists could not be expected to forego the exploitation of a fine opportunity. Effigies of the Chancellor were set up in the streets of Vienna, to be burned or torn to pieces by angry mobs. He was a Judas who had sold his country for thirty pieces of silver to foreign capitalists. Day by day the most venomous articles were published in the Socialist Press, and vile anonymous threats were sent through the post. But Mgr. Seipel is not the man to be frightened by this sort of campaign, though it very nearly ended in the tragedy of his assassination. One very unpleasant task he had promised to carry out, and that was the reduction of government officials. The Geneva Pact was signed on October 5, 1922 ; on January 1st of the following year he had dispensed with the services of 24,000 civil servants. The dismissed officials were not, of course, thrown on the streets to starve. It was the intention of the Government to employ them in various schemes of reconstruction, such as the electrification of the railways and the development of agriculture. After a long conference with the great industrialist, Hugo Stinnes, a beginning had been made with these two schemes.

Chancellor Seipel had proposed to himself a definite goal—the economic rehabilitation of his country—and he formulated definite plans for the attainment of that goal. All his enemies and many

of his friends criticised these plans as reactionary, visionary, or impossible of realisation. Now Mgr. Seipel, as already stated, is always ready to listen to argument and to adopt a compromise when no principle is at stake. But in the present instance neither enemy nor friend could move him from the course which he had mapped out, because he considered it to be only one likely to lead to the salvation of his country. The ship of state was foundering ; desperate measures must be applied ; it was easy to criticise them, but no one had anything better to suggest.

It is a part of Mgr. Seipel's strong position that not even his bitterest enemies can accuse him of self-interest. Amidst the general upheaval in which he lives, and in which few are free from suspicion, his reputation remains always irreproachable. No personal advantage, no passing popularity, no ephemeral success can turn him for a moment from the work which he has undertaken. The testimony of his enemies, not only to his political genius but also to his moral integrity, is in itself the highest praise. Only a statesman indifferent to public opinion and guided by the highest principles would have shouldered the superhuman task of setting on its feet the paralysed and mutilated republic of Austria. The responsibility might well have frightened the strongest.

But Mgr. Seipel is a man of prayer and leans on God. In the midst of the difficulties and dangers which surround him, in the midst of the arduous work imposed by his high office, this statesman finds time to exercise his priestly functions as if he were a simple curate. He says daily Mass in the convent where he once acted as chaplain (perhaps he still acts as chaplain), and where he lives as simply and frugally as in his student days. He appears frequently in the pulpit, finds time to hear confessions and to visit the poor. As he says himself, he did not cease to be a priest when he accepted the office of Chancellor. Altogether he is a remarkable figure in our time—a man admired by the vast majority of Austrians as their political saviour and respected by a small but bitter minority as their ablest opponent. A. Raybould.

II—The Diamond Jubilee of Manila Observatory

BY T. A. MURPHY, C.SS.R.

As you sit on a deck-chair of a steamer in the Far East and admire the beauty of a calm tropical night at sea, you will often hear the conversation of seafarers turn on the same sea when it is in a different mood. You will be told of its cruel strength when

it is lashed by the most furious storms that visit our planet, the typhoons of the tropics. And almost inevitably the conversation will veer round to the subject of the Manila Observatory—the pioneer and the best known of all Eastern observatories. Indeed there is no observatory in the world about which a ship's officer will speak with such a personal regard.

The Manila Observatory constitutes the Weather Bureau of the Philippine government ; but it owes its success to those who originated it and have directed it for over half a century, the Spanish Jesuit Fathers of the Philippine mission. It began in this way. About the middle of the nineteenth century great progress was made in the study of meteorology, and particularly in that branch of it which deals with the forecasting of weather conditions. The use of the steam-engine had revolutionised ocean travel ; the ships of the civilised nations were on all the seas of the world. The study of climatic changes became, therefore, a matter of the greatest importance. If a mariner has foreknowledge of a coming cyclone, he is forearmed. The Jesuit Fathers of the Philippines were quick to see the opportunities which their geographical position afforded them for rendering invaluable assistance, and so in 1865 they made the first humble beginnings of what is now the Manila Observatory.

Quite apart from the desire of contributing to the general progress of science, there were local circumstances which urged the Fathers to take up the study of cyclonic storms. The Philippine Archipelago consists of nearly 3,000 islands scattered over thirteen degrees of the tropics. It lies between two seas which are often the birthplace of typhoons, the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. The Archipelago itself is visited annually by several cyclonic gales. The natives call these *baguios*. In English they are known under the names of typhoons or cyclones, but a typhoon of the tropical seas is quite unlike any of the storms experienced in cooler climates. It is a storm that revolves on its own axis within a circumference of varying extent. Its diameter is sometimes as great as a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles. This whole revolving storm travels in varying directions, as a top spinning on its own axis might move along a floor. The internal revolving velocity of the typhoon often amounts to hurricane force.

The scientific problem that confronted the Jesuit Fathers of the Manila Observatory was to foretell the direction which this revolving storm, once it had arisen, would follow : in other words, what provinces or countries would be affected by it. They could see for themselves every year what a terrible toll of human life and widespread destruction followed on the wake of the typhoons.

At sea, the frail fishing craft of the natives naturally suffered most ; but the strong ships of commerce suffered heavily as well. On land, thousands of the bamboo-and-nipa homes of the Filipinos, and many of the strong houses of the Europeans, went down before the terrible strength of the gale.

The Manila Observatory has many scientific discoveries to its credit ; but surely nothing can have brought such joy to its Directors as the fact that they succeeded in solving the problem of the typhoon. They can now foretell the coming of the dreaded storm two, three, and sometimes even five days before it reaches the Philippines, and five or six days before it reaches the Asiatic Continent. Cases are on record where they foretold the arrival of a typhoon in Japan as long as fifteen days before its advent. At present they send telegraphic weather reports daily to Cochin-China, Tonkin, Shanghai, Hongkong and to several stations in Japan ; and through the American naval radio station at Cavite (near Manila) reports are sent, at a fixed time every day, to all the ships that pass within hundreds of miles of the Philippine Capital.[1]

All over the Philippine Islands signal stations have been erected. When a typhoon approaches, these stations are warned and signals are at once hoisted to announce the proximity of the danger. Thus the zeal and skill of the Fathers have been the means of saving thousands of lives and millions of pounds worth of property ; for, in this case, to be forewarned is to be forearmed. When a captain of a ship knows that a cyclone is near, he runs his vessel for the safest anchorage in his neighbourhood ; or if he is in port, he will remain there. On land, when the danger signals are hoisted, precautions are taken to make buildings secure, and many of the natives leave their own frail homes to take refuge in churches or other strong public buildings.

The story of this success in foretelling the advent of typhoons, and of the success of the Manila Observatory in many another direction, centres round two names—the name of Father Federico Faura, who is looked upon as the founder of the institution and who was its Director from 1878 until his death in 1897 ; and the name of Father José Algué, who has been Director for the last twenty-seven years. In the beginning the direction of the Observatory was perforce entrusted to professors who had already their hands

[1] The following specimen of such a report is taken at random from among the messages received on board a ship on which the writer travelled recently : " To all ships and stations : 6 a.m. pressure low Pacific and Northern Japan along Bonin. Relatively low S or SW of Philippines. Winds N or E quadrants—Philippine weather changeable—some rain Southern Luzon, Visayas. Fair generally rest Archipelago.—Manila Observatory, *via* Naval Radio, Cavite."

full and who could thus devote but little time to it ; but in the year 1877, Father Faura was set aside for this special work. He was in Spain at the time of his appointment. From Spain he went to Rome for a final course in astronomy under the direction of the celebrated Father Secchi. The next year, 1878, he did a course in terrestrial magnetism and kindred subjects at Stonyhurst under the guidance of another well-known scientist of his Order, Father Perry. He then made an extended trip to all the more celebrated Observatories of Europe and became acquainted with many of the leading scientists of the day. At the end of 1878 he took up his new position in Manila, where his first success was not long in coming. It consisted in establishing the fact that the typhoons of the Far Eastern tropics are similar in origin and nature to the cyclonic storms of the West Indies and of the Indian Ocean. The daily observations taken in Manila for thirteen years before were, of course, of valuable assistance to him in arriving at this conclusion.

About a year after his arrival in the Philippines, on November 18, 1879, the new Director ventured his first prediction of a coming cyclone. Manila was in consternation at the announcement. The Harbour Master ordered the port to be closed. No ships were allowed out to sea. The Governor-General requested Father Faura to make known to him the reason of his prediction ; and when the priest-scientist had convinced him of the proximity of the danger, he ordered the townspeople to prepare for the coming storm. The hours of those two memorable days, the 18th and 19th of November, must have dragged slowly by ; the barometer fell lower and lower ; the wind blew steadily from the north, and the clouds drifted rapidly from E.N.E. On the night of the 19th Father Faura, the Harbour Master, and others kept watch from the tower of the Observatory. Fortunately the moon shed a brilliant light over the heavens. In the evening a nimbus cloud had appeared along the eastern horizon and, as the night wore on, the watchers could see that in the heart of this nimbus there was commotion and trouble. It was the sign they looked for : the signal of the storm. On seeing it they cried out "*Allí está ! Allí está !*" (There it is—there it is). The following day, at noon, the cyclone burst over Manila.

After the remarkable prediction of November 1879, the worth of Father Faura's work won for his Observatory the official recognition of the Spanish civil administration. In 1882 a Royal Order from Madrid constituted the Observatory a government institution, allotted salaries to Father Faura and his assistants and—what the Director desired more than aught else—established thirteen

observation stations throughout the Philippines. Father Faura had been long convinced of the necessity of establishing outlying stations. No observer, no matter how expert, can regularly forecast the track of typhoons unless he knows the direction of winds and clouds and the barometric readings of the localities round about him. Under Father Faura's successor the number of outlying observation stations has increased considerably. At present the Manila Observatory receives telegraphic weather reports twice daily from nearly 50 stations in the Philippines as well as from 10 Japanese stations, 5 stations in Formosa, 5 stations of the China Coast, and 3 stations in Indochina.

Father Faura was well aware that there were other branches of science besides meteorology for which the Philippines offered special facilities. The magnetic meridian passes through Mindanao, the great southern island of the group, and thus an excellent opportunity is given for the study of terrestrial magnetism. The Philippines are occasionally visited by earthquake shocks of three different origins—volcanic, tectonic, and shocks due to the collapse of internal cavities of the earth—and thus they offer a wide field for the pursuit of the very modern science of seismology. Finally, the distance of the Manila Observatory from other observatories gives to an astronomer in the Philippines his own special sphere, as it were, in the chart of the heavens. To profit by the opportunities for scientific research which his position thus afforded, Father Faura planned the foundation of three new departments in his Observatory—a magnetic, a seismological, and an astronomical. He lived to see his dreams realised, or very nearly so. The magnetic department came into being in 1887, the seismological department some two years later, and the astronomical department was nearing completion at the time of his death.

It was this department of astronomy which was the cause of bringing the well-known Father Algué to the Philippines. In the year 1892 there was held an International Meteorological Conference in connection with the Chicago Exhibition, and at this Congress Fathers Faura and Algué assisted as delegates of the Spanish government. Father Algué, who had been already in the States completing a course of astronomy, accompanied Father Faura on his return to the Philippines. But before leaving America he gave orders to a Washington firm for the construction of a large equatorial 19-inch telescope. This telescope arrived in Manila in 1894; a revolving cupola for the observation tower arrived from Spain in 1897. But Father Faura did not live to see the great telescope installed in the tower which he had built to

receive it. Worn out by labour and heart-broken with sorrow at seeing the Filipinos, to whom he had given the best years of his life, in armed revolt against Spain, he died on January 23, 1897.

His grave is a modest one ; and it is perhaps just as well that it should be so. Like Sir Christopher Wren his best monument is the one which his genius created. And even if that, in the centuries to come, should crumble into ruin, his name will still endure in another work of his—a much smaller work, but one which held also vast possibilities for good. In 1882 he gave to the world the celebrated " Faura Barometer." The internal mechanism of this instrument is similar to that of an ordinary aneroid barometer. Externally all one sees is the barometric needle which moves along a dial divided into different sections. Each section has an inscription, and as the needle points you can foretell calm or storm. If a cyclone is brewing in the distance, you will know it ; and once it has arisen, you will know whether it is coming nearer or moving farther off. When the needle enters a wide section to the left of the barometer you can prepare for danger ; you are in the path of the cyclone. No instrument of course can foretell all cyclones—some of these are quite abnormal—but the " Faura Barometer " will give warning of any cyclonic storm that follows a normal course.

Father Algué has proved a worthy successor to Father Faura as Director of the Observatory. Under his guidance it has continued to hold its honoured place in the world of science. The exhibits of his Observatory at the Saint Louis Exhibition won no less than six gold medals, besides diplomas and other marks of distinction. In the year 1895 the Manila Observatory was invited to be one of the sixteen observatories of the world to co-operate in the work of cloud measurement, and its Director succeeded in making the highest of these measurements. Father Algué has written several scientific treatises, the best known being his book, " The Cyclones of the Far East," published in 1897. In the same year he gave to the public his " barocyclonometer," an adaptation of the Faura Barometer. By means of the barocyclonometer storms may be foretold not only in the Philippines but throughout all the East. So impressed were the American naval authorities by this invention that, in the year 1912, they sent Father Algué a request to design a similar barometer for use in the Atlantic. He readily consented and, having collected data by a personal visit to the meteorological offices of London and Washington and the Observatory of Habana, he designed a barocyclonometer capable of foretelling the cyclones of the Atlantic.

The Fathers who have assisted the two Directors of the Manila

Observatory have also had success in their own scientific pursuits; the publications of several of them, such as Fathers Cirera, Maso, Coronas, and Comellas are well known to scientists. But it must be acknowledged that the wonderful success of the Observatory is due above all else to its Founder—to the fertile brain that planned it, and the strong hand that built it, and the brave heart that never flinched before the difficulties and disappointments that lay thick upon the way. Indeed in all the pages of history there are surely few pictures more striking than the picture of this humble priest-scientist battling with the elements, snatching his fellow-beings from the fury of the most destructive of all storms, the cyclones of the tropics.

T. A. Murphy.

III—The Silver Jubilee of a Famous Library

BY STEPHEN J. BROWN, S.J.

A handsome volume of 160 pages, with more than sixty excellent illustrations, has just come to hand. It is a record, by the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, of the history during its first quarter of a century of that now famous institution, with a description of the buiding and its contents. The volume is full of interest.

The John Rylands Library is only twenty-five years old; yet, according to Prof. Wessely, of Vienna, it has already "taken rank with such world-famed libraries as the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Vatican, and the Royal Libraries of Vienna and Munich, which have at least a century of development behind them." It began its career in 1899 with some 70,000 books and a small number of MSS. To-day it possesses no fewer than 300,000 printed books and 10,000 MSS., among which are some of the most precious literary treasures of the world. This great result has been achieved practically without assistance from public funds. It is primarily due to a single person, Mrs. Enriqueta Augustina Rylands, widow of a rich Manchester cotton-weaver. When John Rylands died in 1888 Mrs. Rylands resolved to commemorate the name of her husband by dedicating to his memory some great institution devoted to the encouragement of learning. In her mind this memorial took the form of a library, and she forthwith commenced the collection of books, and commissioned Mr. Basil Champneys to design a building on a magnificent scale. Such were the beginnings of the John Rylands Library.

Mrs. Rylands was a woman of large ideas, and she was whole-heartedly devoted to the ideal she had set before herself. In the

first place, no expense was spared. It will probably never be known how much money she devoted to the great project; but we can form some conception of it when we recall that, from 1888 until her death in 1908, she collected thousands of valuable books, that she purchased the Althorp collection for nearly £250,000 and the Crawford collection for a like sum; that the building she erected was of the style and proportions of a Gothic cathedral; and that she endowed the institution with an annual income for its maintenance and extension. But money was not the foundress's only gift. She gave also to the work her whole time and energy. Every detail of the scheme was carried out under her personal supervision and, says the report, "it would be impossible to say how many admirable features were the result of her suggestions."

The original edifice—it has been more than doubled since—took ten years a-building. But it was worth waiting for. Competent authorities regard it as one of the finest specimens of modern Gothic architecture to be found in England or in any country. Its first floor, the main library, resembles a cathedral with a nave 148 feet long and 44 feet high, terminated by an apse and flanked by long vaulted cloisters. The windows are of stained glass, and the whole building is full of beautiful metal work, woodwork, stonework, and statuary. The library fittings are of the utmost perfection.

On October 6, 1899, the library was formally opened in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering of people from all parts of Europe. The freedom of the City was conferred on Mrs. Rylands. In the evening there was a reception in the library at which about a thousand guests were present.

The Library, as we have seen, set out upon its career with some 70,000 volumes. How has it grown to its present dimensions? Let me quote from the Report: "There are those who believe that institutions of this character grow of themselves when once started. This is a mistaken idea which, fortunately, was not shared by Mrs. Rylands. She realised very fully that they do not grow of themselves, that they must be made to grow, and that money is the only fertiliser that is of any use" (p. 25). In point of fact, the books donated amount, up to the present, to some 40,000 volumes. But that number, considerable though it be, is but a small proportion of the 300,000 volumes the Library has acquired.

Mrs. Rylands and her advisers began their work with broad and high ideas regarding the purpose and functions of a library. In their conception a library ought not to be a mere dead collection of books known only to a few students and booklovers. As the Librarian says: "the real importance of such a library rests, not

upon the number or rarity of the works of which it is composed, but upon the use which is made of them." "From the first," he continues, "it has been the steadfast aim of the Governors to make it an efficient working library for students . . . a laboratory for historical and literary investigation." It was not to be merely "a place of pilgrimage for the lover of rare books," but a "live library for the stimulation of learning and for the extension of the boundaries of knowledge, whether in theology, philosophy, history, philology, literature, art, or bibliography."

But not content with making the library an efficient working centre for all these studies, the directors have endeavoured to extend its benefits to the general public. They have done so in three principal ways—viz., by exhibitions, by lectures and demonstrations, and by publications. They have organised exhibitions of "The Art and Craft of the Scribes and Illuminators of the Middle Ages"; "The Beginnings of Books"; "The History of the Transmission of the Bible from the Earliest Times"; "The History of Printing," and many others. The first series of lectures, 1901, dealt exclusively with the history and contents of the library itself. This was followed by a series on "Books and their Makers," and every year since then a syllabus has been arranged which has included the names of many of the foremost scholars. Another feature of the Library's work has been demonstrations to organised parties of students from the University, the training colleges, the technical and secondary schools on such subjects as "The Beginnings of Literature," "The Books of the Middle Ages," "The Bible before Printing," "Chaucer," "Dante," "Milton," etc., etc. It can easily be imagined how vivid is the impression made by actually seeing letters written in the time of Abraham, a proclamation of Nebuchodonosor, the writing tablets of a Roman consul, or a papyrus document written during the lifetime of our Lord. There have been demonstrations also for groups of craftsmen connected with the printing and other trades.

A mere list of the Library's publications during the past twenty-five years occupies ten large pages of the Report. They include Catalogues of the Library's treasures, some of them running to many quarto volumes, facsimiles of rare books, exhibition catalogues, reprints of articles which have appeared in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, and many miscellaneous publications on literary, classical, and religious subjects.

One other great public service rendered by the Library is deserving of appreciative mention here. On the destruction by the Germans, in August, 1914, of the great Library of the Catholic University of Louvain, the John Rylands Library was the first

to proffer its sympathy and help. This expression of sympathy was no mere lip service: the John Rylands Library made itself a centre for the collection of books intended to replace the lost library. And since December, 1919, some 622 cases, containing close on 50,000 books, have been despatched to Louvain.

To give a satisfactory account of the treasures now in possession of the John Rylands Library is scarcely possible within the limits of the space at my command. The interests of John Rylands were widely philanthropic; but he was in the first place a Nonconformist of a highly religious bent. In view of this, Mrs. Rylands made it her task to equip, in the most thorough way, the theological section of the Library, including biblical criticism, dogmatic theology, liturgy, hagiography, church history, and comparative religion. But, unlike such libraries as that of Dr. Williams in London, the Bede Library of the Christian Faith, and Gladstone's St. Deiniol's Library in Wales, it is by no means predominantly theological. Every branch of learning is equally represented. For the lover of ancient and rare books it is indeed a treasure-house. It possesses 3,000 volumes printed before the year 1501. These have been arranged in a special room, the Early Printed Book Room, in such a way as to show, almost at a glance, the history of the early development of printing. It is a remarkable fact that though printing was invented only in the middle of the fifteenth century, yet before 1500 there were printing presses in seventy-three towns in Italy, Venice alone possessing 151 presses!

On the classical side, we are told, the library is pre-eminently rich. It possesses the first printed edition of each of the fifty principal Greek and Latin writers, including the only known copy of the first printed Greek classic. Then, as regards Italian literature, the Dante collection alone numbers upwards of 6,000 volumes. There is an excellent collection of French, German, and Spanish literature, and to a less degree of Portuguese and Russian. But none of the literatures have been neglected. The Library possesses all the great historical collections, such as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, a library in itself, *Gallia Christiana*, the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, and the collections of the great Irish Franciscan, Wadding. Its collection of pamphlets numbers upwards of 10,000. The library is very rich in Philosophy, Sociology, Economics, and Bibliography. It takes nearly five hundred of the leading periodicals of all countries.

Then there is the collection of manuscripts, Oriental and Western. The Arabic and Persian MSS. alone number some 2,000. The importance of the collection of MSS. on papyrus may be gauged

by the fact that the descriptive catalogue of the Demotic Papyri occupies three quarto volumes and took ten years to compile. Next, the Library possesses more than a thousand Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian tablets, ranging in date from 3,000 to 650 B.C. As regards Western MSS., the subjects include biblical, liturgical, and patristic texts, hagiography, theology, classics, chronicles, charters, papal bulls, heraldry, law, science, etc. Mention may be made of the Emperor Otho's Gospels (c. 970), two Gospel books from the monastery of St. Gall, Joan of Navarre's Psalter, Charles VII's Book of Hours, and the Colonna Missal.

But for the Manchester cotton-spinner and his wife (one remembers the Tennysonian gibe), this treasure-house of art and learning, which has permanently enriched England and made Manchester a place of foregathering for the scholars of the world, would not be in existence to-day. Their gift is a noble example of civic spirit. Other countries, notably America, have been enriched by a like form of private beneficence. It is easy to recall at random such instances as the Johns Hopkins University, the Smithsonian Institute, and the Carnegie Trust. The writer has before him a handsome volume recording the opening of a library which is, no doubt, merely an instance among many—the James Blackstone Memorial Library at Branford, Connecticut. Many an existing public library counts among its most valuable possessions the collections made by some private individual. Witness the Bradshaw and Acton Collections at Cambridge or the Joly Collection in our own National Library. In Ireland such gifts are rare. Too often private collections are broken up on the death of the owner, and the result of a lifetime of patient search and selection is scattered in a day to the four winds. Still more rare is the consecration, whether by donation or bequest, of a considerable fortune to any educational purpose. True, so wretched is the condition of our poor, that one would not willingly see too large a proportion of the money that is given or bequeathed diverted from the relief of bodily needs. But it should be remembered that the community as a whole stands to benefit by what is done towards its mental and spiritual betterment. "It is easy to see," says the Report, "that people want creature comforts, such as baths, wash-houses, and infirmaries [we in Ireland should add: decent houses and the food necessary for life and work], all of which are excellent and necessary things, but the provision of which, even on the most magnificent scale, might still leave a community mentally and spiritually starving."

STEPHEN J. BROWN.

REVIEWS

Apologetics

THREE MEASURES OF MEAL: A Study in Religion. By Frank G. Vial, B.D. London: Milford. 1923. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS OF THE SECOND CENTURY IN THEIR RELATION TO MODERN THOUGHT. By Philip Carrington. London: S.P.C.K. 1921. 7*s.* 6*d.*

CHRISTIANISME ET CATHOLICISME. Par Gabriel Brunhes. Paris: Beauchesne. 1924. 12 fr.

BATAILLES D'IDEES SUR LES PROBLEMES DE DIEU, DU BIEN, DU VRAI. Par A. Bouysonnie. Beauchesne. 1923. 10 fr.

DOCTRINAL PROGRESS AND ITS LAWS. By Rev. Eugene O'Doherty. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1924. 6*s.*

THE religious question holds men's attention now as always, perhaps more now than ever. The facile negations of a generation ago have led to nothing but a paralysis of thought or a reaction from blank negation, which is an inadequate mental diet. "More light" is the cry on the lips of a troubled and suffering generation. And while the difficulties of theology proper are exercising an increasing fascination, the most poignant interest is still felt in the more fundamental questions of apologetics. These books are a testimony to that interest. They are all more or less apologetical.

The first is an effort to appraise the part played by Judaism, Hellenism and Romanism in the complicated problem of Christian origins. These are the three measures of meal which, when leavened by the vital force emanating from Christ, give us what may be called the new loaves of proposition. It is certainly a book to read—interesting, thoughtful, suggestive. It aims at showing the unity and harmony of the natural and supernatural elements in the most extraordinary movement history has known.

In the Epilogue the author writes: "I realize that I have essayed a task which is beyond my powers; but I comfort myself with the thought that it is beyond the powers of any single mind." At first sight this might seem a verdict of failure against his own work. That would be an exaggeration. If the subject by its very nature defies any quasi-mathematical demonstration, it does not follow that all attempts at a solution are fruitless, or leave the question where it was before. We are better able to understand Christianity when we have seen the natural background or setting for the supernatural intervention. The writer does not attempt to

explain all by natural laws or national psychology. He seeks to show how the supernatural was modified by the nature upon which it was superimposed. There is nothing novel or unorthodox in maintaining that the Jewish genius for religion, the Grecian genius for philosophy, and the Latin genius for law and organisation have conspired to give to Christianity many of its most characteristic features. It is only when an effort is made to exclude all direct divine intervention that we get the unorthodox striving manifest in so many modern works. This our author does not attempt to do.

At the same time there are certain statements that excite some misgivings. Thus in the Preface we read : " The organisation of the Church is not something imposed from without, but is the development of its inner life in response to its needs." This squares but ill with the Catholic conception of the Church as an organization imposed, in its essentials, by Christ himself. On p. 79 the author tells us : " For myself I am willing to admit an element of the supernatural, and to believe that Mohammed possessed a degree of inspiration, since otherwise I cannot account for the power of the man nor for the fruits of his mission, any more than I can account for the power, and its effects, of the ancient prophets, except that God spake as He was minded through them." He adds, indeed, that it is possible to explain Mohammedanism as a natural phenomenon, and gives such excellent reasons for this view that one must wonder he should personally find them inadequate. It will be a strange definition of supernatural inspiration which will admit of its application to Moslem fanaticism.

Christian Apologetics of the Second Century, though it disclaims all intention of being a work of erudition or original research, has yet a charm and interest of its own. The author manifests a loving familiarity with the first Christian apologists, and an imaginative sympathy with the problems and difficulties of the early church. He writes as one who holds steadfastly by the central dogma of Christ's divinity. But that does not prevent him from giving utterance to some speculations that sound strange to Catholic ears. It would require elaborate analysis and long citation to disentangle the heterogeneous elements. The lack of a clear-cut philosophy as a background to the theology makes itself felt. His personal views are acute and do not lack originality. There are many suggestive and pleasing pages ; but the resultant impression is that of a vague and somewhat nebulous piety seeking to reconcile ancient faith with modern thought. The aim is admirable, but the success very questionable. Yet the volume will repay perusal even

by Catholic students. The following paragraphs from pp. 51, 52 will give the reader a fair idea of the spirit of the book :—

> But, on the other hand, let us be honest. This Jesus of Nazareth, who was born *imperante Augusto* and suffered under Tiberius, obstinately refuses to stay buried in the rock-sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea. He is alive and walking the world to-day, after many incredible deaths and resurrections. A hundred years ago, for instance, this Church was on its death-bed ; to-day, though reft of the life-worship of thousands, it has assimilated itself to modern thought, and moves with a vigour and power that is astonishing. Mathematically considered, it has dwindled. As a living organism it grows daily, with a new yet ancient vitality. And the person of Jesus of Nazareth is still the crowning and final problem which the scientific world has to explain and every honest man to face.

Christianisme et Catholicisme is one one of the many brochures issuing from French sources and aiming at the demonstration of the Church's claims and their reasonableness. It is essentially actual in that it is inspired by the widespread movement for Christian reunion which is making itself felt in the East and West alike. A preface by Père d'Herbigny, S.J., a specialist in Ecclesiology and the history of the Eastern Churches, strikes the note of the volume : *Fiat unum ovile.* The whole work aims at facilitating this longed-for consummation. It does not pretend to break new ground, but depicts in clear and well-informed manner : (1) the disunion now existing ; (2) the evils inherent in this disunion ; (3) the false principles from which it springs ; (4) the true principles by which alone it can be remedied. Finally, there is an account of the tendencies making for reunion. Instinct with charity, sympathy, and understanding, it should appeal to all men of good will who see in Christ the saviour of world and in a reunited Christianity the hope of civilisation.

Batailles d'Idées is an attempt in dialogue to meet modern objections, for the most part as old in substance as philosophy itself, on the question of God's existence, on the problem of evil, on truth, on the revelation of heart and head in religious assent, on faith and reason, and finally on evolutionist morality. The first two dialogues are between a priest at the front in the Great War and a major reared in a completely agnostic atmosphere. The major is converted, and endeavours to lead an advanced socialist along the path he has himself just trod, but fails. One day the priest has a chance of filling the empty pipe of the Socialist and establishing a contact, which results in six more Socratic dialogues. The last of these ends with the somewhat inconclusive words on the part of the Socialist : " Vous me voyez passablement surpris de toute cette aventure. Ce diable de tabac ! Bon-soir et merci." From these we can draw what conclusion we will as to his subjective state after the encounter. But if he was not convinced, he ought to have been ; for his various positions had been demolished very effectively by an

attack that was always courteous even when most deadly. This is essentially a book for an educated layman who has imbibed the poison of doubt floating around in the modern world of thought.

Doctrinal Progress and Laws is the thesis written by Fr. O'Doherty for his doctorate of theology in Maynooth College last spring. It deals with the weighty and much-discussed question of the evolution of doctrine. The question is obviously difficult and delicate. For on the one hand the public revelation made by God to mankind was completed when the last of the Apostles died. The Church claims no power to add to or subtract from the deposit entrusted to her keeping. On the other hand, theology has clearly not remained stationary for nineteen centuries. How then reconcile the progress and advance made during these centuries with the theory of a revelation complete at the beginning of them. The theologian, of course, has recourse to distinctions between explicit and implicit revelation, written and oral tradition, the statement of a dogma and its explanation, the germinal idea and its fuller formulation, between a truth itself and the deductions proximate or remote which flow from it.

Fr. O'Doherty does all this for us in an orderly and luminous manner. Quantitative development of doctrine is ruled out from the start. Qualitative development is not only not ruled out but postulated by reason, by history, and above all by the manner in which revelation was conveyed to men. Thus Christ did not write a code of laws or a codex of theology. As far as we know He wrote nothing, but taught orally a number of disciples, who thus became depositaries of a great tradition, which they in turn handed on, orally at first, by writing only later and partially. This body of doctrine passed, at their death, to successors who still formed a living organism with its vital operations under the protection of a special providence which excluded error in faith or morals. Such a body will inevitably manifest its possession of life by mental growth; and the mental growth of the Church, under various natural and supernatural influences, explains such development as has taken place, while her loyalty to tradition and the charisma of infallibility prevent that growth from going beyond the data of revelation or erring in the definition of it. Such at least is the Catholic conception of evolution in doctrine, and it differs essentially from both Protestant and Modernist views on the point. Even those who do not accept it cannot deny its logical coherence or its sufficiency when accepted, to reconcile the apparent contradictions mentioned above.

But Fr. O'Doherty is not content merely to explain the theory.

He examines the causes of development, natural and supernatural ; the history of that development, chequered, as all history is ; marked at one time by accelerated movement, at another by arrest and stagnation ; and, finally, the prospect of future development. On this point his conclusion is : " Though the revelation made by God is infinite in its implications, and though the development of doctrine will continue as long as there is intellect in the world, it is, nevertheless, true that in this branch of knowledge, as in every other, we must be prepared to accept the law of diminishing returns." Yet that does not prevent him from adding : " The last century has laid the foundations of movements which will in time effect a development of doctrine. In the matter of exegesis the methods of non-Catholics necessitated a more extensive use of the auxiliary sciences of history and archaeology ; in Apologetics the arguments advanced against Christianity by materialistic philosophers called for new defences of revealed teaching ; while in the sphere of Dogmatic Theology the use of the historical method and the revival of the genuine spirit of Scholastic philosophy give promise of great future progress." The Church is like the householder who brings out from his treasury new things and old, or, more accurately, it has for its motto : *non nova sed nove.* P. J. Gannon.

Biography

EDMUND BURKE AS AN IRISHMAN. By William O'Brien. Dublin : M. H. Gill. 1924. Pp. xiv., 317. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

The special contribution of Mr. William O'Brien to the considerable body of biographical writing on Burke is his restatement of the influences, on the statesman's earlier years, of his domestic connections. He has set beside the Burke who defended the Bengalese, who gave form to British Whiggery, who contended against the economic bigotry of Bristol and the irreligious savagery of Robespierre, the localised affections so enduringly present in the Burke of the Ballyhoura Hills and of Ballytore. Those pictured passages in his letters to his kinsfolk and to his friends in the Nagle country are drawn together into a very human and even tender narrative, marked by all Mr. O'Brien's plenteous kindliness of phrase and by all his persuasive skill. The result is undoubtedly a real contribution to the personal knowledge of Burke which his readers may have. They may not advert, under Mr. O'Brien's guidance, to the full importance of his name in modern world politics : they will, on the other hand, be called on to study his position as an Irishman.

Historically, all appreciations of Irish sk ll and enterprise abroad have been on the whole ample and favourable in Ireland.

The argument that an Irishman, to have credit for service to Ireland, must always stay in Ireland and work in Ireland, will not bear candid examination. Columbanus in the Celtic period, Wadding in the Norman period, did immense service to our name and nation throughout Europe. Both were probably quite superior to Burke in mental energy, in sustained effort, in enduring results; both brought world credit to their native country. Despite all Mr. O'Brien's earnest advocacy, the Burke who lives and will live in political history is the Burke who devoted himself to the Whig party in England, and to its great houses, down to the French Revolution; and the Burke who thereafter worked with Portland Whigs in alliance with Pitt. When Portland and Pitt, in 1795, flung Fitzwilliam aside in the cause of bigoted reaction, Burke was powerless to aid. He was the mere tool of the Coalition, and like a modern statesman, when the crisis came he found himself waiting on the doormat outside. Highly esteemed as an adviser and as a tireless worker, Burke was never admitted to real power in the party to which he gave himself up in England.

Mr. O'Brien does good service in showing throughout his series of chapters how Burke kept a watchful eye on Irish affairs, and wrote on them constantly to his political friends both in England and in Ireland. He had never any high opinion of the members who met in College Green, drawn from the landlord ascendancy that on a famous occasion combined forces in Cork and Tipperary to send innocent men of the Nagle name and country, cousins of Burke, to the scaffold for pretended murder and conspiracy to murder. He could not have any respect for them, for he knew them well during his years of service to Hamilton, then Chief Secretary and the official primarily responsible for the carrying out of the Penal Code in the days when its effectiveness was greatest, 1757 to 1765.

The closing years of Burke's life saw that Ascendancy, in the exercise of its brutal power over the Irish people, absolutely untrammelled: Mr. O'Brien makes it plain how soon Grattan's Parliament, four years after 1782, betook itself to the enactment of savage Insurrection Acts and to the consolidation of the absolute sway of the landlord class. To attack this tendency openly Burke did not see his way. The greatest absentee landlords in Ireland were to be found in the ranks of the Portland Whigs. Yet even in the worst of times Burke was able to give sound advice to the Catholic leaders in Ireland, clerical and lay, as to the need of caution and of rigid aloofness in dealing with any of Pitt's ministers, whether in Dublin Castle or in Westminster. Of College Green he took no account after 1789. It became the subservient tool of Pitt from

that great year onward. He and Grattan turned at once to the transaction of Irish business in the one place where it could be transacted—in London, with Mr. Pitt's Cabinet Ministers.

Here, and here alone, was Burke of service to Ireland. We may allow that such service was increasingly devoted as years went by: we may doubt its definite effectiveness, for all Mr. O'Brien's warm advocacy of his hero. Outside England, Burke had and has no influence to speak of. His name is almost unknown on the Continent of Europe, whereas the constructive genius of O'Connell has always had full credit and enjoyed high esteem in France and in Germany. If Ireland has one thing to her credit in the political life of modern Europe, it is the development of organised political action by the masses of the people, and guided by a true leader. O'Connell and the Catholic masses of Ireland achieved that, and achieved it against all odds, in the generation after Burke. The writings of Burke's later years show that any such creation of an active democracy would have been abhorrent to him. It is for this reason that Burke never became a real world force in the practice or in the theory of political action and construction: it is for the opposite reason that all great leaders since O'Connell's time have followed the policy which he first marked out and carried to perfect completion.

Beyond all doubt, however, Mr. O'Brien has presented considerations on Burke's life and mind that merit consideration, especially in view of the fact that most writers on that life and career, down to and including John Morley, have been of the coldly aloof and intensely Saxon type, and therefore unable to realise the very human type, with affection quite as prominent as cold reason, which Burke presents. T. C.

Celtica

LUCIAN. An t-Athair Peadar Ua Laoghaire d'aistrigh. Baile Atha Cliath: Brún agus Ó Naulláin. 1924. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Na daoine a fuair láimh-scríbhinní an Athar Peadar tar éis bháis dó, a sheiceadóirí, is léir gur thuigeadar gur seoda luachmhara a bhí aca, seoda nár cheart a gcur i bhfolach ná a leigint i ndearmad. Dá chomhartha san, tá toradh saothair an Athar Peadar dá fhoillsiughadh fós—'na leabhar is 'na leabhar—agus gach ceann aca níos fearr ná a chéile. Ní gádh dhúinn ainm an eagarthóra léigheanta a luadh annseo. Is beag duine a chuireann spéis sa Ghaedhilg nach bhfuil fhios aige cé h-é R. P.

An leabhar deireannach dár tugadh dhúinn, "Lúcián" an ainm atá air, agus, taobh amuigh de dheich leathanaigh, aistriuchán ó 'n Ghréigis atá ann. Cérbh' é Lúcián? Sé rud a deireann an

Tighearna Macaulay 'na thaobh ná " The last great master of Attic eloquence and Attic wit." Do scríobh Lúcián cuid mhaith, agus na rudaí a b'fhearr a scríobh sé, do b'iad na h-Agallmha.

Tá dlúth-aistriuchán déanta ag an Athair Peadar ar sé chinn déag de Agallmha na marbh, ar sé chinn de Agallmha na ndéithe, agus ar sé chinn de Agallmha déithe na mara. Na dteannta san, tá dá ghiota as " Menippos " aistrighthe aige, trí giotaí as " Cárón," trí chinn as an " Iomramh Síos," dá cheann as " Tímón," ceann as " Cúirt na ndéithe " agus an aisling a thárla do Lúcián i dtosach a óige. Tá dá chaibidiol ann, freisin, 'na gcuirtear síos ar " Constantín " agus ar a chathair. Ní h-aistriuchán atá ionnta-sa ach, de réir deallraimh, ádhbhar a scríobh an t-Athair Peadar féin.

Ba mhaith an mhaise do'n Athair Peadar an scríobhnóir gréigeach do chur i n-aithne dhúinn. An t-é a léigheann go cúramach na h-Agallmha, gheobhaidh sé asta neart smaointe agus ádhbhar machtnaimh, óir tá ciall agus greann agus gaois ionnta. Tá fonómhaid ionnta comh maith, ámh. Dá mba mhaith le duine iad do thuigsint go h-iomlán, níor mhór dó stair na ndéithe mbréige do bheith aige.

Maidir leis an nGaedhilg atá 'sa leabhar, is leor a rádh go raibh lámh an Athar Peadar san obair. Ní beag san. Ach cad mar gheall ar " filosofar " mar fhocal ? Ní thaithnigheann sé linn. Fairis sin, tá an focal " mé " scríobhtha gan síneadh ó thús deire an leabhair. Ní bhíodh sé amhlaidh i leabhraibh an Athar Peadar, agus ní fearrde " Lúcián " an t-atharughadh. Ná ceaptar nach bhfuil an leabhar cló-bhuailte go maith agus go rí-mhaith. Tá creideamhaint mhór ag dul do'n eagarthóir agus do na clódóiríbh mar gheall ar an slacht atá air. Tá súil againn go bhfuil tuilleadh de'n saghas chéadna i ndán dúinn fós. S. Mac M.

FEAR SUIBHAIL. A's a chuid comharsanach. Seághan Mac Meanman. Dún Dealgan : Uilliam Tempest. 1924. 2*s.*

Ni thaithnigheann fear siubhail linne ar chor ar bith—'sé sin le rádh, ni thaithnigheann an duine féin linn, acht ar a shon san, ní maith an rud a leithéid do leigint saor, nó do chur chun siubhail arís, gan a mhála d'infhiúchadh, feuchaint an bhfuil aon nídh ann a thaithnigheann linn, óir, de réir an tsean-fhocail " mo ghrádh thú is rud agat " cé nach bhfuil ionnat acht fear siubhail.'

" Fear Siubhail a's a chuid comharsanach " is ainm do leabhrán deas a scríobh Seághan Mac Meanman. Leabhrán deallramhach is eadh é, cé nach ró-dheallramhach linn an teideal. Is mó duine adeireann go bhfuil an iomarca de'sna sgeultaibh sin againn, agus go gcuireann a leithéid déistean orra.

Bíodh go gcuireann, is mó seoid a bhíonn in a mhála 'á iomchur ag an bhfear siubhail i ngan fhios. Acht ní ar sheoda litridheachta do thabhairt dúinn do chrom an t-úghdar, nuair do scríobh sé an leabhar so, ni h-é sin an cuspóir a bhí aige ar chor ar bith. Acht is mó rud a chíonn an fear a bhíonn ag taisdeal na tíre nach dtugann daoine eile fé ndeara, óir "gheobhaidh an chos ar siubhal rud nach bhfuighidh cos 'na comhnuidhe muir' bhfuighidh sí scht dealg." Is chum na neithe sin do chur i n-úil dúinn do scríobh Seághan an leabhrán seo.

Ní beag an moladh do dhuine a rádh leis gur éirigh leis go geal san cuspóir a bhí aige, acht adeirimíd an méad san i dtaobh úghdair an sgéil seo. D'innis sé gach sgeul go deas, agus má táid beagán garbh annso agus annsúd, cad eile cad a bheadh in a mhála ag an bhfear siubhail—ní i n-áit mar sin a gheibhthear seóda agus iolmhaoin.

Is mór an truagh é go bhfuil earráide chlódha le fághail go tiugh san leabhar, acht chímíd go bhfuil an dara roinn le teacht an bhliadhain seo chughainn, agus tá súil againn nach mbeidh an locht san ann.

Tá foclóir sa leabhar agus nótaidhe agus cora cainnte bailighthe le chéile. Is tabhachtach an cnuasach é sin, oir is mó cor cainnte atá aca i dTír Chonaill nach dtuigtear acht amháin annsan. Tá dul an Bhéarla ar chuid aca, acht, ní ar an úghdar atá an locht san (ma's locht é), acht ar na daoine a labhrann iad. P. Ua C.

MAC DATHO. Innsean nua a thug Tomás O Máille ar an sean-sgéal. Comhlucht Oideachais na hEireann. 1924. 1*s.*

Nochtuigeann Tomás an sean-sgéal dúinn 'na Ghaedhilg líomhtha féin. Is maith mar a thárla gur thuit a aire ar an sgéal san, mar is aoibhinn ar fad an sgeal é. Taisbeánann sé dhúinn beatha thaoisigh le linn aimsire Chríost. Buaileann daoine móra na staire agus taoiseacha móra clú linn. Cuirtear nósanna na haimsire seo in iúl dúinn go mór-mhór nósanna fleidhthe.

Ritheann an sgéal trí 24 leathanacha agus 'na dteannta san tá "Gléas," "Ceisneoir," "Passages for Translation" le fágháil ann, agus iad go léir go díreac, maith, i dtreó gur leabhar an-oireamhnach ar fad é i gcóir sgoileanna.

Tugaimíd fé n-aire go bhfuil "an chéad chló" scríobhta air, chomh maith agus a rádh go bhfuil coinne ag na clódóiríbh go mbeidh gádh é d'ath-chló. Níl aon bhaoghal ná go mbeidh an gádh sonasach san ortha.

Níor dhein Tomás aistriú díreach as an meadhon-Ghaedhilg. Leanann sé go dlúth uirrthe uaireannta agus uaireannta eile cuireann sé athrú mór air.

Molaimíd breitheamhnas Thomáis agus is é ár meas gur fearrde an sean-sgéal an nua innsean, agus gur fearrde an nua innsean an sean sgéal. E. DE B.

SGEALTA GEARRA SGOILE. Le Tomás Ó Raghallaigh agus Seán Ó Ruadháin. Baile Atha Cliath : Mac Ghuill. 1924. 1*s.*

LEABHAR ana-mhaith, ana-thábhachtach is eadh an leabhar so. Leabhar le h-aghaidh páistí scoile is eadh é agus cuirfidh na páistí suim ann mar tá sgéalta, dánta agus tomhaiseanna ann. Tá na sgéalta sgríobhta go simplidhe agus baineann siad leis na rudaíbh a chíonn páiste, atá na chomhnuidhe ins an tuaith, mór thimcheall air. Sin é ár locht ar na sgéaltaibh má's féidir locht a thabhairt air, nach bhfuil morán sgríobhtha ar bheathaidh an bhuachalla atá na chomhnuidhe ins an mbaile mhór. Ní fada go mbeidh na dánta de ghlan mheabhair ag na daoinibh óga agus i dtaobh na dtomhaiseanna ni h-áibhéil a rádh go mbeidh siad sásta leo. Níl dearmad déanta ar an múinteoir agus mar sin tá ceisteanna agus sean-fhocail i ndiaidh gach sgéil. Tá morán pictiuir sa leabhar, cuid acu go leath-cuibheasach agus cuid eile go h-an-mhaith, agus tá foclóir beag ann freisin. Mar sin tá an leabhar ana-oireamhnach mar leabhar léigh-theóireachta do pháistibh sgoile agus is fada linn go mbeidh leabhar eile mar é ó'n bheirt ughdar. C. S.

SEAN AGUS NUA. An t-Athair Gearóid Ó Nualláin, M.A., D.Litt., agus Fearrgus Ó Nualláin, M.A., do sgríobh. Baile Átha Cliath. Brún agus Ó Nualláin, Teór. 1923. 1*s.* 6*d.* a luach.

CNUASACH de ghearra-sgéalta atá 'sa leabhar so ; iad go maith suimeamhail. Baineann an chéad cheann le seana-shaoghal na Róimhe, agus dar liom-sa, s'é an ceann is fearr é, ach is fiú iad go léir a léigheamh. Adeir na húghdair go bhfuil na sgéalta céadna i mBéarla i leabhair eile. S'é is teidiol do'n leabhar úd ná " Intrusions " ; agus fágaid fé sna léighthoiríbh a dhéanamh amach cé aca i nGaoluinn nó i mBéarla a chéad-sgríobhadh iad. Tá mo thuairim féin agam 'na thaoibh sin, ach ar eagla ná beadh an ceart agam, ní nochtfad mo rún ; níor mhaith liom, ach oiread, an sásamh san a bhaint de léighthóir eile.

Taisbeáintear 'sa leabhar bheag so go bhféadtar an Ghaoluinn do lúbadh, ionnus go gcuirtear i dtuigsint dúinn smaointe, idir nuadha agus aosta, idir árda, doimhne agus coitcheannta. An té ná creideann sin ní'l le déanamh aige ach an dá leabhar do cheannach, agus iad a chur i gcóimhmheas le n-a chéile. Annsan iseadh chífidh sé an tsár-obair atá déanta ag an Athair Gearóid agus ag

Fearrgus. Táimid buidheach beannachtach díobh araon. Go dtugaidh Dia a sláinte doibh chun tuille de'n tsaghas so a thabhairt dúinn! A. Ó F.

Classics

GREEK LITERARY CRITICISM. By J. D. Denniston.
GREEK HISTORICAL THOUGHT and *GREEK CIVILISATION AND CHARACTER.* By Arnold J. Toynbee.
London: M. Dent. 1924. 5s. net each.

These three volumes form part of an interesting series of extracts in translation, which purport to give the non-classical reader an idea of what the Greeks thought on a variety of subjects. Each volume is provided with an introductory essay by an authority on its subject, which serves as a means of "orientation" to the Greek point of view. The three volumes before us are full of interest, though in very different ways, and should prove of much educational value if cautiously used. Unfortunately they may easily rather serve as additional stimuli to future imitators of H. G. Wells, and their educational use will vary largely with the quality of their introductory commentaries.

Mr. J. D. Denniston's book is a sober and valuable collection of materials illustrative of the history of Greek literary criticism, and may be recommended as a useful companion volume to the first part of Saintsbury's "History of Criticism" for example. The purely "literary" side of classical literature is perhaps somewhat neglected in these days of comparative philology and *Realien*, and in appreciating the great Greek writers on their æsthetic side it is most interesting to be able to know what they thought of their own work themselves. Unfortunately very many works of Greek criticism have been lost to us, and what remains may largely be divided into two classes: the speculations of philosophers, which laid the foundation of modern æsthetic theory, and the very academic manuals of later rhetoricians, which (always excepting the famous treatise on the Sublime) are more interesting to the future historian of that curious phenomenon "classicism," than to the historian of pure literature. In this connection, it may be pointed out that Mr. Denniston's remark on p. xxxiii of the Introduction, that "Greek critics all look back rather than forward," applies solely to the latter class. Aristophanes and his contemporaries did not do so, neither did Aristotle, and the "looking back" is part of the classical reaction that, as Wilamowitz says, killed creative Greek literature. The extracts given from the "Frogs," from Plato, and from Aristotle are an

excellent summary of earlier criticism; those from Dionysius, Demetrius, and Dio Chrysostom illustrate well the blight that fell on the Greek mind under the early days of Roman rule, when even the living Greek language ceased to be a medium of writing. Finally there are some passages from Longinus, that oasis in a dreary desert, and a short specimen of Lucian's biting satire on the "Orators" of his day. The book fills a definite want, and may be unreservedly recommended.

The recommendation may not be so unreserved in the case of Mr. Toynbee's two volumes, brilliant piece of work though they are. Mr. Toynbee in fact belongs to a professionally brilliant school, of which Mr. Cornford, whose work on "Greek Religious Thought" we have already reviewed, is a slightly duller light. His writing, accordingly, while ever interesting and often illuminating, must be taken with a grain of salt. In these books he sets out to give a resumé of Greek historical thinking in its two aspects: the basic ideas which made up Greek character and formed so to speak the object upon which their experience acted; and the experience itself as viewed from their own point of view. He does not confine himself to the classical period, but continues his extracts down to the time of Heraclius, thus including much that is missed by the average reader of Greek history. His extracts are all translated in such a way as to be completely free of "translationese": he goes so far as to render *hêrôs* by "saint" and *ephoros* by "Director," and so forth, and the result is certainly vivid enough to justify him. His scope includes St. Luke, the Acts of the Apostles, Josephus, Marcus Aurelius, and Procopius, and the whole makes a very good conspectus. It is in his introduction that he is rather unsafe. He adopts a division of history into parallel periods, which if seriously meant, would seem to betoken a leaning towards Spenglerism, and really has no explanatory value at all. He speaks definitely as an after-Christian (*Greek Hist. Thought*, p. vii) and appears to regard Christianity as a degeneration from the fine flower of Greek reason. He generalises the fifth-century superstition of the divine envy, which was already branded as a superstition by Aeschylus, and attributes it to Polybius, whose God was that much later divinity, Fortune. He rightly emphasises the "subtlety and ruthlessness" of Herodotus, but attributes a certain simplicity and *naïveté* to Procopius because the latter had the foolishness to believe in God. Altogether, though his volumes are full of interest and put forward many interesting ideas, they are very insecure guides for the unlearned, particularly in Ireland. M. T.

Education

A SURVEY OF MODERN EDUCATION. By Helen Wodehouse, M.A., D.Phil., Professor of Education in the University of Bristol. London: Edward Arnold. 1924. Pp. viii, 230. 6*s.* net.

THE inspirational setting of this volume differs considerably from that of the impressive books produced by the previous occupant of the Chair of Education at Bristol, Dr. Geraldine Hodgson. Dr. Hodgson's writings are definitely Christian in character and ideas, and are based on the great Christian mystics and men of action. Dr. Wodehouse begins and ends with mention of human and sub-human races, and seems to rely mainly on the sociology of Marett and Bosanquet, flavoured by the curious sentimentality of Earl Russell, and tempered by the nebulous phraseology of Dr. Jacks.

This survey falls into two sections. The Content of Education attempts to cover all Europe, ancient, mediaeval, and modern, in 130 pages. The result is much inconsequence, much haphazard choice of matter, and an absence of distinctive principles. There is little value in this series of scrappy chapters, if series it can be called, though there are not a few incidental bits of curious information, as, for instance, the remarks of Kames, Dugald Stewart, Beattie, and Jardine, when in the Scottish Universities of 1700-1800 they found out that their curriculum was altogether too Aristotelian and Roman, and was unconsciously "a good support to the Romish religion." The Second Part endeavours, within a hundred pages, to deal with Education for All. There are numerous significant quotations from Official Reports on English Education, which are serviceable to the student in search of basic facts. But the area covered—though largely limited to England—is too vast for the method used and the space available.

One specimen of the general statements in the text will show how inadequate this variation of policy may prove. The colossal disasters to English Education, and especially popular education, from the rapacity of the new nobility of Henry VIII and Edward VI are thus insinuated: "Religious changes were often bad in their first effect, since they opened the way to the confiscation of Church Endowments which had served education. Elizabeth's reign did something to replace them by new gifts. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries liberal ideas were growing. Adherents of the new philosophy often held that education should not be withheld entirely from any rank of life."

Such a summary is quite vague in some places, utterly mis-

leading in others. Elizabeth's reign did nothing to replace the ruin of schools effected by the rapacious lords and their imitators. If a private foundation were made, as by Lyon for the village of Harrow, it was soon confiscated anew by the new squirearchy, and converted to the use of the upper classes. Bacon, the founder of the New Philosophy, was an avowed opponent of the extension of education to the masses of the people, and his philosophy prevailed till the present day, as later quotations by Dr. Wodehouse clearly show. The farmers of Surrey, sixty years ago, objected to arithmetic being taught: "the boys would be getting to know too much about wages, and that would be troublesome." The squirearchy of England passed scores of savage sentences on boys of nine, ten and eleven years of age, as late as 1880; and it would appear from the quotation made by Dr. Wodehouse (p. 220-221) that Queen Victoria did not approve of mitigations, any more than she favoured the abolition of flogging in her Army.

These quotations, rather than Dr. Wodehouse's casual remarks on religion, anthropology, and general culture, will be found the most useful part of her work. These passages on the Training Colleges of the great English Educational Societies, in the period 1800-1834, will serve to conclude this notice. The Secretary of one of these bodies testified in 1834, as to teachers in training: "Our object is to keep them incessantly employed from 5 in the morning until 9 or 10 at night. We have rather exceeded, in the time devoted to study, the limit we would choose . . . their health has suffered" As to the teachers sent up from country schools to be trained: "the masters and mistresses were in many instances unable to write, and in some even to read." In most of the primary schools "any room, however small and close, serves for the purpose: the children sit on the floor and bring what books they please: the closeness of the room renders fuel superfluous, and even keeps the children quiet by its narcotic effects." And yet at the same time in Ireland there were critics of the incomparably superior local teachers in the far healthier system of hedge schools. T. C.

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS AND SCHOLARS. Sketches of Education from the Christian Era to the Council of Trent. By Mother Francis Raphael, O.S.D. (Augusta Theodosia Drane). New Edition, edited by Walter Gumbley, O.P. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1924. Pp. xvi, 742. 15*s.* 0*d.* net.

THIS reissue of a notable work is very welcome, and it is certain to find a wide and appreciative public. No other work of its type, so satisfying to the educated general reader, has appeared in English

since the first edition appeared almost sixty years ago. For a long time past it has been a book difficult to procure, and its reappearance is in style and form worthy of all the excellences of the original issue.

The editor's note indicates the sources of some modifications of the original text, made to avoid "a tiresome number of footnotes." The sources so consulted are, generally speaking, compendiums, many of them yet quite incomplete, and some volumes of the Rolls Series. It is from many points of view regrettable that the revision of so comprehensive a work, rightly stated by the editor to be one which covers "the widest field of learning," was not based on a use of the main sources which have appeared since the second edition, now over forty years old. It will be sufficient to refer to a few conspicuous areas where great and even revolutionary advances in knowledge have been made. The nature and the functions of the Mediaeval Universities have taken quite a new appearance since Denifle wrote, 1884-1890; his work, and the work of other investigators such as Chatelain, is not given its full effect. Even more important is the vast field of Christian primary education. It was but imperfectly placed before the readers of the period 1867-1882, in view of what was then known. But the patient work of such investigators as A. F. Leach in England, Robert and many others in France, and similar work in Germany, has laid bare the truth, and the truth redounds to the great credit of the Mediaeval Church.

At the present day the duty of the Catholic text-writer is to enter up the results of all such knowledge: it is all the more effective because so many of the investigators have been more or less unwilling witnesses to the great work of the Church for primary and universal education in the mediaeval period. It was the special work of the pastoral clergy: it reached the whole people. A summary of these results, achieved since 1887, in the English area alone, would reinforce the lessons conveyed in the other chapters of *Christian Schools and Scholars*. As it stands it almost gives the impression that the educative work of the Church was especially limited to monastic schools, to Universities, and to a group of classical schools in each nation. This was but a fraction of the whole work of *Christian Schools and Scholars*. It would, therefore, have been well if the text had been made to accord with the "widest field of learning" of to-day, a field not adequately covered by the "further research which has taken place in 'ecclesiastical history' since the first issue in 1867."

Other points that would merit attention in a further revision are

such as the record of mediaeval teaching in Sciences, especially in Mechanics, as worked over by Duhem in some ten large volumes of his works, as yet not fully issued ; the nature of the First Renaissance in the eleventh century ; Church legislation on education ; the international legal status of Universities and teachers in them ; the position of Catholic schools in face of the revolts of Luther and of Calvin. The researches of the past forty years all tell in favour of the Ages of Faith : and while the new edition is still in need of being made a fair record of their story, the whole spirit of Mother Drane's work is an inspiration to the Catholic general reader.

T. C.

HANDBOOK OF TESTS FOR USE IN SCHOOLS. By Cyril Burt, M.A., D.Sc. (Oxon.), Psychologist to the Education Officers' Department of the London County Council. London : King. 1923. Pp. 106. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Burt is a moderate. He stands markedly aloof from the mob of crude experimentalists who have invaded the schools of America ever since America entered the Great War and had to pick out a hundred thousand men to be army officers, and to do it within two or three months. It is well known that the peculiar methods used in making this selection, and the peculiar results which it reached, never had to stand the test of sustained trial. The American school publishers soon saw in all these processes of sudden selection something that could be profitably exploited in a new output of educational materials. Away with " examinations," let us have " tests " instead. Scores of these new tests have been devised and applied by rival camps of psychologists : the Blackpool comparative lists, issued last year, show clearly the vast divergences that do occur in all these " scientific investigations." A few County Councils in England have incautiously rushed into the fray, and have applied some such tests to determine awards of scholarships at the age of eleven years.

The inevitable reaction has now come. Dr. Burt's book shows plainly that the older examination processes had a good deal to say for themselves. In reading, in arithmetic, and in writing, as well as in the handling of materials such as cardboard, there is really no advance at all. The book concludes with eleven mazes devised, as a progressive series, by Professor Porteus. They are really old friends : every boys' paper knows well that this kind of thing attracts, and is a paying proposition. Even here the quickfire " hit or miss " process has to be disavowed. The quality of each effort has to be judged with care, despite all the American ex-

ploiters who seek to apply a dozen tests in a minute. Dr. Burt writes down his view that " the mode in which the child proceeds—his care, his foresight, and his self-control, his power to profit by mistakes, his success in analysing by the eye a somewhat intricate design—are far more significant than his absolute score. The examiner, therefore, should watch the child's method of attack as well as count up the number of his successes " (p. 95).

The weakest point of all these refurbished examination questions is their use to determine mental age. The results are a mere tangle of opposing verdicts, and the attempts to devise general formulae of interpretation are patently weak. What matters is not mental age as a static resultant, but the rate of progress in efficiency throughout a school career : and efficiency necessarily includes the power to take up, assimilate, produce, and apply positive knowledge. The test-mongers would fain ignore all this : they are the most dogmatic formalists that ever appeared in the educational world. T. C.

Fiction

THE GREEN ALTAR. By Miriam Alexander. London : Melrose. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

When it is realised that the Green Altar is Ireland, and that the period of our country's history with which Miss Alexander selected to deal in her book is that covered by the years 1912 to 1922, one has a fair idea what to expect. Yet, let it be said at once that there is something quite new about the particular telling of the story. Miss Alexander makes, in the first place, a wonderful effort to see life during that troubled period steadily and to see it whole. She is to be congratulated on her success in so doing. Animated as she so clearly is by a genuine love of country, while distressed at many happenings that puzzle and pain her, she has given us in *The Green Altar* a moving and sympathetic account of one of the most perplexing chapters in Irish history. There are certain improbabilities in her story, there are certain instances of immaturity in her style which need not be criticised too strictly. She has produced a very readable book and one, moreover, which the reader will find himself thinking about when he has left it down. Nor does the author seek to arouse interest by causing well-known characters to masquerade under veils of thin disguise through her pages. She may have, indeed, drawn on live models for her *dramatis personnae*, but they are folk unknown beyond their own countryside.

Her types are all clearly and skilfully pourtrayed. The " county folk," the farmers, the village ne'er-do-wells, the priest and parson

are shown in their habits as they live. With the attitude of the Irish Protestant gentry to their country and its "natives" Miss Alexander has no sympathy, as witness this passage :—

> In the Ireland of yesterday men and women of the second and third estate were passionately, whole-heartedly Irish, while the men and women of the first estate, in most cases, had no nationality at all. They considered it bad form to be Irish, and the barrier of birth and blood prevented them ever becoming English. . . . Love of country was totally absent in sixty-five per cent. of them. Such heart as they possessed was given, they said, to the Empire, and the difference between love of country and love of Empire is precisely the difference between a man's feeling for the home made for him by his mother and his feeling for a well-run orphanage which saved him from starvation.

She condemns, however, the counter stupidity of the Ireland which has in frenzy "cast out this type instead of trying to convert him, good material as he was, and she knew he was, to her later needs."

The story develops through the "Ulster" campaign of 1914, and Miss Alexander has no doubts as to the effect of that windy manifestation, and the Curragh mutiny, on the minds of young and old alike in the "South and West." The outbreak of the European War, the recruiting meetings and their absurdities and inconsistencies, are dealt with, but Pearse and 1916 are scarcely as much as mentioned. Her hero returns from the war in 1918, and joins the Sinn Fein movement in disgust at England's attitude towards small nations according to their geographical situation. There follows a vivid description of the Black-and-Tan terror, which is painful, if interesting, reading. One is inclined to wonder whether Yeats' play *Caithlen-ni-Houlihan* was quite as potent an influence in bringing about the Sinn Fein movement as Miss Alexander seems to think, but she is no doubt right in attributing much of the New Ireland spirit to the work of the Gaelic League.

Since the New Ireland spirit has been mentioned, it may be well to finish this review with an extract which will show that Miss Alexander is not unduly biassed. Talking of the young Irish farmer type who threw in his lot with Sinn Fein, she says :—

> There were many—very many—like him [meaning her hero]; but there were also many hot, headlong, deaf to reason, too drunk with race hatred to care if, in gratifying their lust for vendetta, they dragged down the entire social system—men incapable of mercy either to themselves or others. And there was, too, a small minority full of the bitter personal spites, the yearning for physical vengeance which a sense of prolonged injustice and a legacy of hate will breed among the unbalanced section of any nation.

W. D.

CHRISTOPHER AND CRESSIDA. By Montgomery Carmichael. London: MacDonald and Evans. 1924. 5*s*. net.

Truly this is no ordinary book. The public are already familiar—it would be more accurate, perhaps, to say acquainted—with Mr. Montgomery Carmichael as the author of *Solitaires of the Sambuca* and other books of an eclectic nature, but the published description of his latest "romance" as of "a thoroughly unusual and original character" is certainly justified. In an age when the unusual is so much sought after and so difficult to obtain this should be high praise, yet one hesitates to commend this book for popular reading. The *Solitaire* of the Sambuca who unburdens his soul in the pages of this volume is a very dull, very self-centered person, and the lady who is honoured by his love is so nebulous and vague a character as to seem more like a vision or a myth than a human being.

Christopher Austin Gideon Mavourez (to be pronounced Mavvers), the hero of the story, is one of those curious high-minded persons who, when things go wrong, immediately take to evil living and eventually to embezzlement. A period of jail reawakens the dormant good in Mr. Mavourez, and after twenty-seven years of expiation passed in London he withdraws to the Sambuca to end his days with the *Solitaires*. Cressida, the beautiful girl of sixteen who arouses his love at the tender age of twenty-one, we encounter but little, most of her years being passed within convent walls. The following passage describing the first meeting of these twain affords a glimpse of the heights on which Mr. Carmichael can move. It is at a dance in a London schoolroom:—

> . . . . . I saw a girl come in . . . . . and she, left alone, was quietly gazing round . . . . . I did not see it come: it was there already: not a dancing light: a fixed, white radiance like an aureole . . . . . I saw two or three little spiral tongues of flame play above her head and disappear ascending.

(It should be mentioned that these phenomena were associated with Blessed Damosels who aroused the love of the Mavourez). A formal introduction would in such circumstances have been an anti-climax; so the young pair, very naturally, did without it. In vulgar parlance, they "clicked."

Mr. Carmichael puzzles the reader by writing quite a good deal in this heroic strain, and descending at other times to such bathos as we get in this description of "humour" in a city countinghouse:

> Somebody remarked that young Richards was quite a *dook* at the game. "Better mark 'is play in future," said young Soulsby (a general groan). "Rather *early* in the day, Mr. Soulsby, to make such *Baron* jests," said Haynes. Much groaning and a good deal of laughter. Then the very imp of mischief got into my blood. I looked up from my weary toil straight at Haynes and said "*Vi count 'em?*"!

Apart from the story, which, as already indicated, is extremely dull, there is much moralising in this book, and the writer's stand-

point is, of course, thoroughly Catholic. There is something rather entertaining in his views on such utterances as "the will of God," and "D.V.," and the people who employ them. He refers to the former as

> that august expression which has come to be associated with the worst form of unctuous cant . . . . . All those horrible D.V. people haven't the slightest wish to do what God has ordained for them : their devout hope is merely that nothing will prevent them doing what they want.

This can scarcely be disputed. It is not so easy to follow Mr. Carmichael in his theory that it is "absolutely essential that a man should know to what profession he has been ordained by God's ordinance," and that "the certain rule is to accept the profession that comes to us." One has only to set down counsels of perfection such as these for their impractability to be obvious, apart from the apparent contradiction contained therein. Indeed, all through his book the author loses no opportunity of impressing on his readers the truth of the ancient adage : "Be good and you will be happy."

It is so uncommon nowadays for these almost tractarian sentiments to find expression in a well-bound, handsomely turned out book, that one should perhaps forgive Mr. Carmichael if, in his effort to impart sound teaching, he falls into the common error of being somewhat tedious. W. D.

History

IRELAND. By Stephen Gwynn. London : Benn. 1924. 12*s.* 6*d.*

Anyone wishing to make himself acquainted with the present state of Ireland, the movements economic and political, the aims of parties and the trend of public opinion, as well as the causes which have led up to these, will find this book most useful. Indeed we know of no one book which will give a better general view of these matters to persons unable to devote much time to the separate study of each of the many aspects of modern Irish life and the many questions regarding the future of the country.

Perhaps it is to the stranger from across the Channel or across the Atlantic, or to the young Irish men and women of a couple of generations hence that it will really prove most useful. We who have, most of us, lived through much of what is related, have formed opinions of our own regarding these things and are little likely to change them.

The point of view of the author throughout is that of a member of "the Middle Nation." With the bulk of the native Irish, with their national aspirations and their religious faith (which is so closely united in their minds to these aspirations) he is most sympathetic, and always seems seeking to understand motives and aims, which

yet are not his own. As he himself says, when speaking of the two noted novelists, Somerville and Ross, in their stories of the Irish people, "it is *we* and *they* throughout."

Mr. Gwynn's sense of this aloofness and his regret for it appear often in the book. Speaking of the social circle of Trinity College men, of whom he was one in the Dublin of some thirty years ago, he says :—

> Looking back on those days, it is strange to realise how completely this life of young men, almost all of them eagerly Nationalist, was destitute of contact with Catholic Ireland . . . . . In fact, for all of us, Catholic Ireland as an active force might have been a great secret society from which we were excluded.

Again, there is a description, poetical and beautiful, but too long to quote, of a scene in a country chapel in Donegal. "I think," says the author, in conclusion, "the rest of us, not Catholics, who care for Ireland, when we are brought face to face with the Catholic Church at such times and in such places, must feel towards it almost as if it was our own, because it is so deeply interwoven with all the life that is most Irish in Ireland."

This attitude has, of course, certain disadvantages. While no one can find fault with the appreciation of Trinity College (page 102), one feels that to the National University rather less than justice has been done. The author's picture of the district in eastern Donegal where he lived as a boy is that of one of the ascendancy. True, the ascendancy was a benevolent one in that particular place, and was even beloved of the people who lived under its sway, but the account of the "clearance" effected by a neighbouring landlord, Mr. Adare, shows what misery a landlord had power then to inflict on hundreds of innocent persons, and makes us less regret those good old days.

On the other hand, the clearness of vision which belongs to one who only takes a hand in part of the game is useful. Some of Mr. Gwynn's comments on certain of our national failings are remarkably just. Any one who has endeavoured to promote economic progress in Ireland cannot fail to have been struck with the fact that "unwillingness to risk money in order to earn money is a noticeable part of the Gaelic character."

In Chapter VI much is said in praise of the revival of the old Celtic culture. Although Mr. Gwynn is not very hopeful of the ultimate success of the Irish Language Movement, he seems to consider that the mere effort to bring back the native tongue has done so much real good that already it has justified itself.

Our business methods and our political doings come in for considerable criticism ; but the concluding chapter, on the Irish Free State, is full of hope for the future prosperity of the country, to be

attained by the union of all the classes and creeds and races living within her four bounding seas. To the Middle Nation, perhaps chiefly to our separated brethren of the Six Counties, an earlier paragraph was addressed :—

> One thing, however, no section of Irishmen or Irishwomen has repudiated : their citizenship of Ireland. Had they denied it, the world would not have allowed it. In Ireland, they might be Irish with a qualifying limitation ; but to the world outside they were simply Irish. . . . . The Irish nation is a political concept still imperfectly realized ; the Irish people, that is, the population of Ireland, are a fact of nature (page 35).

Now, at the end almost of the book, those who long ago used to be described as " the mere Irish " are spoken to :—

> The Irish Free State exists, it is Irish, and it is free, and it has, with Great Britain's full concurrence, the rank of a nation. Stripped down to its ultimate elements, the problem stands clear : how to reconcile the ideals, the traditions, and the purposes of two races and blend them into one, so that " Irish " shall be . . . . equally applicable to all citizens of a free and united country, marked out from the rest of the world by its own four seas, a nation bound together by the equal allegiance of all its people. No greater task can tax the resources of statesmanship and the qualities of human character ; but it is Ireland's task now. Nothing that is not Irish stands in the way of its accomplishment ; and if it cannot be accomplished by Irishmen, no outside power can convert our national aspirations into a reality.

M. T. H.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES. From the German of Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor. Edited by Ralph Francis Kerr, of the London Oratory. Vols. xiii. and xiv. London : Kegan Paul. 1924. 15*s.* net each.

THESE two volumes begin with the dramatic conclave after the death of Paul III in November, 1549 : a conclave which was prolonged for ten weeks and was the last great struggle between old and new. Paul III, the Farnese Pope, ruled the Church for fifteen years, and did much for the cause of reform. He made Cardinals of men like Cervini, Morone, Pole and Carafa ; he favoured the new orders that were working for reform, and confirmed the Jesuit Institute ; after endless negotiations with the King of France and the Emperor, he convoked the Council of Trent and maintained it in being for ten public sessions ; he defeated the " Interim " policy of Charles V. All this he did whilst himself adhering to the personal faults characteristic of Renaissance Popes : his nepotism was open and constant ; he was the patron of Pietro Aretino as well as of Michael Angelo ; and the Vatican was as pleasure-loving as ever. Which tendency would prevail after his death ?

Pole, Cervini, and Carafa were the most prominent Cardinals of the reforming party ; but the conclave was dominated by a

political issue. The Imperialists, headed by Cardinal Alexander Farnese, supported Pole ; the French threatened schism if he was elected, and were supported by Carafa, who suspected Pole of heresy. In the first days of the conclave Pole's election seemed certain ; he was actually within one vote of the necessary two-thirds on December 5th. But French intrigue, combined with Carafa's suspicions and Pole's own scruples, blocked the way, and the conclave became a duel between two evenly matched parties. At last, when every suitable candidate had been vetoed either by the King or the Emperor, Cardinal Giovan Maria del Monte was elected on February 8th, and took the name of Julius III, as a tribute to the memory of Julius II. It was an apparent triumph for the worldly-minded.

Pastor's two volumes tell the surprising sequel. Julius III ruled for five years, and gave much scandal ; but, like Paul III, he was willing and able to reform the Church as far as reform was possible by administrative measures. The General Council, which had been first transferred to Bologna and then suspended by Paul III, reassembled in Trent and promulgated two of its most important dogmatic decrees in 1551. Statutes of reform were drawn up in Rome, and many of the scandals connected with the Dataria, the Signatura and the Penitentiary were removed. The final draft of the Jesuit Constitutions, to which St. Ignatius gave the last years of his life, was confirmed, and the Society's work in Europe and the Indies received every encouragement. One other achievement was directly due to the Pope's administrative capacity. Edward VI died in 1553, and the way was open for a reconciliation between England and Rome. Pastor gives a detailed account of the ensuing triangular negotiations between the Pope, Queen Mary and Charles V. His conclusion is that the temporary success of Pole's mission to England was due to the personal initiative of Julius III. It was the Pope, not the Legate, who faced the really difficult problem of confiscated Church property : Pole seems to have been an over-cautious negotiator.

Julius III died in 1555. Pole was absent in England, and still suspected of heresy by Carafa : his chances of election were thus far less than in 1549. Cardinal Marcello Cervini, another prominent reforming Cardinal, was chosen to succeed Julius III, and took the name of Marcellus II. But Marcellus has always been an unlucky name in Rome, and the new Pope died within three weeks of his election. Another conclave was hastily summoned, and the Cardinals—to their own surprise—elected the Theatine Cardinal Carafa, who took the name of Paul IV.

Carafa was seventy-nine years old at the time of his election, and all his life he had been an ardent reformer ; yet the four years of his pontificate came near to ruining the cause of reform. Pastor is not a dramatic writer, but it is impossible to read his volume on Paul IV without feeling the bitter irony of these amazing years. A fanatic by temperament (he was a Neapolitan by birth), Paul IV was also the most suspicious of men. Within three years he had estranged the Emperor and the King of Poland, imprisoned one of the most respected Cardinals in Rome and established a sort of reign of terror by extending almost indefinitely the powers of the Inquisition. Pole would certainly have been condemned to death, had he returned to Rome ; and it was not the Pope's fault that Cardinal Morone, whom he had imprisoned on suspicion of heresy, was not burnt at the stake, evidence or no evidence. Many of those who had known Carafa as Cardinal were prepared for these extreme measures, but his best friends were afraid to argue with an old man whose anger was still as quick and terrible as ever. None, however, were prepared for the crowning humiliation of Carafa's life. He, who as Cardinal had been the declared enemy of all nepotism, began his pontificate by making his nephew, a young military adventurer, first Cardinal and then Secretary of State, with supreme control over the Church's foreign policy. The intrigue by which the Pope was tricked into making this appointment must be read in Pastor's narrative. Carlo Carafa was at last exposed, and was degraded in public by his uncle ; but his reign—for it was practically that—had lasted for three years, and during that time the interests of the Church had been openly and cynically sacrificed to the interests of the Carafa family. Pastor claims that Paul IV's unsparing treatment of his relatives, once their intrigues had been exposed, made nepotism henceforth impossible at the court of the Vatican : that may be so, but the lesson was paid for at an extortionate price.

These two volumes close with the death of Paul IV in 1559. Pastor has since published two more volumes of his history in German, bringing the story down to the death of St. Pius V. Father Kerr divides each of the cumbersome volumes of Pastor's original into two volumes of a more convenient size, so that there are at present due to us four volumes of the English translation. These two volumes are a welcome proof that the Fathers of the Oratory have not abandoned their arduous task. Ten years have gone by since the publication of vol. xii ; we hope that the remaining four volumes will not be proportionately slow to appear.

A. G.

THE ROMANCE OF IRISH HEROES. By L. M. McCraith.
THE ROMANCE OF IRISH HEROINES. By L. M. McCraith.
THE ROMANCE OF IRISH HISTORY. By John G. Rowe.
Dublin : Talbot Press. 1924. 3*s.* 6*d.* net each.

As hardly anybody in this country, in these days, reads books, and as nobody at all—*sé adeir na h-ughdair*—buys them, it might be contended that their price does not matter. Nevertheless, in offering for sale, at the modest price of three shillings and sixpence each, the three good-looking volumes whose names and titles are set forth above, the Talbot Press have achieved something " deserving well of their country."

Mrs. McCraith's twin volumes tell, each in some fifteen chapters the stories of as many men and women, " outstanding and heroic figures of Irish history "—from Cuchulain of Muirthemne and the Knights of the Red Branch to Father Theobald Mathew and his Temperance Crusaders ; from Macha, the Queen, to Anne Devlin, the serving-maid. Not to everyone who calls her comes the spirit of romance, and the slightly stuffy " Sabbath-School " atmosphere which pervades Mrs. McCraith's pages is particularly uncongenial to that elusive presence. But sometimes, as through a half-opened door, a stray wind comes from the lonely hills and bogs where the " Secret Ireland " of the Gaelic poets has her abiding place—and we catch a glimpse of Eire, " the great, the sorrowful, the noble "—so that the word " Romance " is not altogether misplaced in the naming of these two books.

Mr. Rowe's volume is a reprint of a work first issued in 1919, with an addition bringing the story up to the date of the establishment of the Irish Free State. To do him justice, he has frankly abandoned in these later pages the attempt he claims to have made in the earlier : " to display in the most glowing colours all the romance and glory " of the history of Ireland—and his narrative of the events leading up to the *dénouement* of December 5, 1921, is as depressing as the Treaty itself. H. C.

Philosophy

MEASUREMENT OF EMOTION. By W. Whately Smith, M.A.
CONFLICT AND DREAM. By W. H. R. Rivers, F.R.S.
CHARACTER AND THE UNCONSCIOUS. A Critical Exposition of the Psychology of Freud and Jung. By J. H. van der Hoop.
London : Kegan Paul. 1922-1923. 10*s.* 6*d.*, 12*s.* 6*d.*, 10*s.* 6*d.*

The first of these works describes an elaborate series of experiments, conducted at Cambridge, aiming at the measurement of emotional

or affective tone, and the determination of its relation to remembering and forgetting. The author points out that his main interest is in method, "the perfecting of new weapons rather than the solution of old problems." The interesting feature of the work is the extensive use made of the psycho-galvanic reflex. This was determined by attaching the surfaces of the left hand of the subject to the electrodes connected with a battery, galvanometer and resistance box: the deflections indicating increase or decrease of resistance in the individual. Even if the author's view that the galvanometer deflections correspond to degree of affective tone should prove to be premature, the use of this delicate indicator obviously marks an important advance in method.

The main series of experiments aimed at correlating variations in the affective tone accompanying associative reactions to words, as measured by the psycho-galvanic reflex, with the "memory values" of the words, as determined by a separate test. Another set of experiments used Jung's reproduction test, combined with the psycho-galvanic reflex, to determine the relative values of stimulus words as indicators of mental complexes. An investigation was also made of the relation between the form of associations and their affective value. A further series of experiments aimed at using the association test as a criterion of individuality; and interesting suggestions are given of possible application of the method here used to states of dissociation, to "mediumistic" conditions, and to hypnotic subjects. Experiments are also described which tested the influence of alcohol in modifying affective tone; here the result was obtained that, "in addition to a slight all-round raising of the threshold of emotional response and a tendency to mistrust, the effect of alcohol is to cause a regression to a more primitive, all-or-none type of reaction."

The discussion of the theory of affective tone is speculative in character, and seems to go far beyond what is warranted by the experimental results.

Conflict and Dream has the qualities of solidity, lucidity and breadth of view which were characteristic of the work of the late Dr. Rivers. While it does not rest on such a wide field of observation as some of the recent studies of dreams, *e.g.*, that of Hacker, it is one of the most serious attempts hitherto made to probe into the nature of the dream.

Starting from the work of Freud, Dr. Rivers' careful analysis of a large number of dreams leads him to reject or modify essentially Freud's fundamental views. (1) The view that dream is a wish-

fulfilment gives way to the wider view, that dream is an attempted solution in sleep of a conflict of waking life. It is pointed out that some dreams, such as the nightmare and the battle-dream, are the direct negations of wishes. (2) The material of dreams is not drawn mainly, as Freud held, from the experiences of early life, but mainly or exclusively from conflicts, anxieties, wishes arising out of recent experience. (3) Dr. Rivers' evidence does not support the view that sexual factors have a predominant importance in dream-causation, and he rejects the Freudian fantastic interpretation of dream-symbolism. (4) Freud maintained that the manifest content of the dream arises by distortion of its latent content or deeper meaning, this being necessary in order to disguise the dream-thoughts from the sleeper, and so not to disturb sleep : the original dream-material has to be subjected to " dream-work " before it can pass the " censor " watching at the threshold of consciousness. According to the present work, all the transformation (including dramatisation, symbolisation, etc.) that occurs is due simply to the fact that in sleep the higher levels of mental functioning are excluded. The dream is a regression to a more primitive, often infantile, level of mental activity. Sleep acts progressively upon successively different levels of mental activity. The deeper the sleep, the more levels are put out of action, and the more primitive the type of mental functioning manifested in the dream.

Apart from the consideration that this conception of a succession of mental levels is highly speculative and uncertain, the general view that every dream expresses a conflict seems one-sided. Dr. Rivers' practical interest in dreams on account of their importance in psycho-therapeutic treatment would tend to confine his attention to dreams which have diagnostic value. It seems more probable that many dreams have no inner meaning, and result from mere play of imagination.

Character and the Unconscious is " the result of nine years' intensive study of the practice and theory of psycho-analysis," and expounds its general principles and method in a clear and systematic manner. While giving a very sympathetic account of Freud's views, the author does not fail to point out some of the shortcomings of his method, especially its deterministic and over-negative character. Freud confined himself to the analysing and searching for causal origins of morbid symptoms, merely clearing away obstacles, but not showing how to build up a better future for the patient. The Zürich school of psycho-analysis, founded by Jung and Maeder, is praised for supplying the necessary corrective to

this narrow view. The method of the new school should be more correctly called synthesis than analysis. It aims at sublimation of desires and emotions. It searches for inner impulses of growth in the mind, which may be synthesised into a harmonious personality. "The chief task of the synthetic method is to explain to the patient the way in which, partly in his conscious and partly in his unconscious mind, this sublimating process is continually developing." The author illustrates the new method by examples from his own practice. This school provides also a new constructive interpretation of dream-symbolism, which, though an improvement on Freud, is still highly speculative and fantastic.

The interesting question of the classification and description of psychological types is dealt with in a chapter which is, unfortunately, so diffuse as to be tiresome.

The author is very enthusiastic about the new psychology, which he regards as only in its beginning, and predicts a vast future for it. J. SHINE.

A MANUAL OF NEO-SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY. By Charles R. Baschab, Ph. D. London and St. Louis: Herder. 1923. 10*s.* net.

PRAELECTIONES COSMOLOGIAE. By Rev. J. M. Dario, S.J. Paris: Beauchesne. 1923. 24 fr.

DR. BASCHAB'S work, the first complete exposition in one volume of the whole range of Scholastic philosophy, fills a distinct void. There is a growing hunger among educated laymen for something more satisfying than the nebulous theories of modern systems. Dr. Baschab is, then, assured of a wide circle of readers.

The plan and structural outlines are decidedly good. The style is fresh, original, and clear. That depth is sometimes sacrificed to brevity is only to be expected from the wide range of the subject. His criticism, for instance, of the moral principles *Bona facienda, mala vitanda sunt* and "act towards others as you want them to act towards you" seems to us superficial. There is a very welcome criticism of the evils of Capitalism, which the author considers a greater evil than Socialism.

The space allotted to various points seems out of proportion. It is surely to be regretted that we get but three thin pages on the very actual question of miracles. Again, exaggerations like "absolute rejection of sex restriction" and "the complete disappearance of continence in marriage" only weaken the argument for the right of the unborn child to life. Does the author really mean that polygamy "*is just as* contrary to the natural law" as

polyandry ? We read on page 323 that it is intrinsically impossible for Him [God] to annihilate *anything*, because annihilation would involve a contradiction in the Divine Nature." This is evidently incorrect.

The author must find himself in a very small coterie when he holds as more probable the early Scholastic view that the intellectual soul is not infused at the moment of conception. In the creation of man he deems not only as possible, but even as more probable, the hypothesis that the soul was infused into an existing animal organism. His arguments do not seem to touch the real difficulty against him, viz., tradition.

We think it a pity that Dr. Baschab should abandon the word " ontological " for St. Anselm's argument. The application of this word to the cosmological argument is made on grounds which seem to us inadequate and which make for confusion.

But nothwithstanding these criticisms, we consider Dr. Baschab's book helpful to laymen interested in philosophy.

Fr. Dario in his *Praelectiones Cosmologiae* provides a text-book for students in Catholic philosophy. He neglects none of the classical scholastic questions, but he by no means confines himself to these. He deals also—and at much greater length—with many problems that stand on the border line between philosophy and physical science. The author says that he is concerned rather to harmonise the traditional teaching of the schools with the conclusions of modern science than to give the historical and dialectic treatment of that teaching.

We are glad to see a book on these lines. Modern science may be said to be in a state of flux. The theories of yesterday become accepted truth to-day, only to be rejected to-morrow, when some new discovery seems to have sapped their foundations. It is well, then, that the student of Catholic philosophy should be made to feel that he has nothing to fear from the advance of science.

The book is well done. The matter is conscientiously treated ; difficulties are not shirked ; and numerous quotations, mostly in French, are introduced. A good many pages are rightly devoted to the refutation of Kant's subjective theory of space and extension.

Fr. Dario's *Praelectiones* will be very useful to professors and students—more, we should think, as a book of reference than as a mere text-book. In a text-book students would wish to have the classical questions treated more fully.

There is a good index of the subject-matter, but no index of authors. This might with profit be added in the next edition.

John J. Hannon.

Political and Social Science

THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. By John Joseph Robiecki, A.M. Catholic University of America. 1921. $2.25.

THIS is easily the most satisfactory book on the political philosophy of Dante that we have seen. Between text and notes, we are given not only a first class, first hand, account of Dante's thought, but an epitome of the finest and most up-to-date Dante scholarship. The writer does not ask us to take anything on faith. The original text is fully quoted, and the translations leave nothing to be desired.

Where everything is so good, it is not easy to make selections for special mention. Perhaps "The Sovereignty of the State" is about his best discussion. The author, without formally indicating weaknesses, makes clear what they are. Dante failed in his account of sovereignty and his conception of the World-State, because he failed to take adequate account of Aristotle's theory of self-sufficiency as the distinguishing mark of the State. The individual man is a complete person, even though not so big a thing as the community. The self-sufficing community is a complete State, even though it does not attain the imposing proportions of the World Empire. Indeed it is hard to say whether the World-Empire as a social unit is more perfect than a system of many divided self-governing communities, or affords a greater guarantee of peace to men—Dante's final test of perfection in every case. A world community subject to forces of inevitable disruption from within is a more terrible menace to human peace than many self-contained communities subject each to mutual jealousy and violence from without.

In a purely natural system there are other stabilities besides the stability of an immobile unity or a single all-pervading control, and it is doubtful whether even for order the *multa*, the *varietas*, are not as important as the *unitas*—in all the higher orders, differentiation is certainly not only a law, but the perfecting form as well. Aristotle's doctrine of the autarchic community as the basic idea of the State is the most saving contribution ever made to the theory of government; and political theory has always become confused where that notion was allowed to recede or to become obscured. If there is no final satisfaction to be had from Austin, Hegel, Green or Hugh Taylor, it is because they have preferred novelty in any form rather than philosophy in its first form; and in Politics this root heresy, that the new is always better than the old, is more reprehensible than in any other branch

of human learning. There is no serious student of Aristotle's Politics that does not find himself asking a thousand times: In what particulars have we added to him?

Dante's politics is not as inspiring as his poetry; the values are of the opposing order of the permanent and the ephemeral. But as presented by the present writer, even his politics will be found to stimulate our thought, and if it does not help us to final philosophical conclusions, it will certainly help to a better understanding of the problems and mentality of some of the great men of the mediaeval period. M. Cronin.

A HISTORY OF POLITICAL IDEAS. By C. R. and M. Morris. London: Christophers. 1924. 5*s.* 6*d.* net.

This is an excellent little book and fully attains its purpose, which is to provide for beginners a connected account of the development of political philosophy from Plato to our own age. Only the main currents of thought are touched on; but their connections are clearly shown.

The writers, both of Oxford, are at their best in the second portion of the work, which deals with the Reformation period and later. Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a better presentation, in the space here available, of some moderns, *e.g.*, Hobbes, Rousseau and Hegel. Criticism, of course, is wanting; but then the purpose of the book is history, not criticism. The Greek period is not so well done. The elusive Plato is, of course, always a difficulty: there is so little of definite doctrine in the *Republic* that the present writers are justified in the very general presentation they give us. But there is so much of tangible theory in Aristotle that it is difficult not to regard the present account as over-careful and reserved.

St. Thomas Aquinas, too, in the mediaeval period, is inadequately treated. No student could infer from the little here given how great was the contribution to the subject of Politics to be found in the *Summa Theologica*, the Commentaries on Aristotle, and the *De Regimine Principum*. To say that "the fundamental doctrine of St. Thomas and of the schoolmen was that the individual alone has ultimate value and that therefore the State comes into being and must continue to exist for the good of the individual life of its members" is more than misleading. It could hardly, for instance, be reconciled with St. Thomas's teaching on the right of the State to put a guilty man to death as surgeons remove a diseased organ for the sake of the whole body. The omission also of the names of St. Thomas's political treatises (they are not even mentioned in the bibliography) is a defect, considering the purpose of the book.

We miss, too, certain great names from the mediaeval period, such as Bodin.

However, in a work of such brief compass it would be wrong to expect a great deal of detail. We heartily commend the little treatise to students of Political Theory. M. Cronin.

THE THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS. By Thorstein Veblen.
THE VESTED INTERESTS AND THE COMMON MAN. By Thorstein Veblen.
London: Allen and Unwin. 1924. 10*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.*

Although Mr. Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* was published in America as long ago as 1899, it is only now that an English edition is appearing. This is surprising, inasmuch as the book is one of quite outstanding and exceptional character, and must arouse the admiration of every reader, however much it may at the same time arouse in him a violent irritation and an acute spirit of disagreement. The book possesses in a conspicuous degree two merits which cover a multitude of sins of provocativeness; it is strikingly original and brilliantly witty.

The leisure class which Mr. Veblen examines under his microscope, is not composed of idlers but of very busy people—of company promoters, bankers, financiers, lawyers, professors, and journalists, who are united in the one aim of exploiting the actual industrial producers. Society is divided into two classes, the pecuniary and the industrial, those who exploit and those who drudge. The leisure class exercises a very important influence on the economic life of the whole community because of its dominant desire of impressing the world in general with its emancipation from the need of productive labour, which it succeeds in doing by making a display of wasteful consumption both of time and of money. Mr. Veblen analyses many social phenomena from this point of view, and we must say that he supports his thesis very well.

Among the leisure class, value is in inverse proportion to utility; only those occupations which lead to no productive end are worth pursuing, and only those objects which have no productive use are worth possessing. Thus, the cat is less esteemed than the dog because she is less wasteful and may even serve a useful end by catching mice; the dog, on the other hand, "though the filthiest of the domestic animals in his person and the nastiest in his habits, commends himself to our favour by affording play to our propensity for mastery, and, as he is also an item of expense and serves no industrial purpose, he holds a well-assured place in men's regard

as a thing of good repute." From the same standpoint Mr. Veblen unfolds a new philosophy of clothes. "A detailed examination of what passes in popular apprehension for elegant apparel will show that it is contrived at every point to convey the impression that the wearer does not habitually put forth any useful effort," he contends, and goes on to develop the interesting suggestion that, whereas men stop short of adopting fashions that will prove uncomfortable as well as unsuitable for labour, they drive their wives and their servants to attire themselves in the most uncomfortable way possible. In this he sees a survival of the servitude of wives and dependents in the dark ages. In like manner, carrying a walking stick is a polite hint that the owner is not bound to employ his hands in labour, and is at the same time the sign of a subconscious recollection that primitive man walked abroad armed with a club.

Mr. Veblen's central thesis is that the existence of a leisure class such as he describes is a clog on progress, because the temperament possessed by such a class is profoundly antagonistic to that required by modern industrialism. The leisure class, he argues, tends to be conservative, and to conserve the predatory traits that were useful in a barbarous or military age, whereas modern industrial progress requires a pacific, docile disposition. The most provocative part of the book is that wherein present day survivals of predatory instincts are described. War, sport, and speculative finance are pointed at as such survivals; and high among the modern representatives of the primitive hunting warrior stands the lawyer, "who is exclusively occupied with the details of predatory fraud, either in achieving or in checkmating chicane, and success in the profession is therefore accepted as marking a large endowment of that barbarian astuteness which has always commanded men's respect and fear." The chapter devoted to the economic significance of religious devotion will be very offensive to Christians, and we prefer to say nothing about it. The result reached at the end of the whole discussion is that the characteristics possessed by the leisure class are tending to keep back the march of industrial progress, and the author's conclusion must be taken to be that the best interests of society would be served if that class were abolished.

It is probably correct to describe Mr. Veblen as a socialist. Coming from a socialist, his book is useful in so far as it contradicts the other school of socialists who affirm that saving on the part of the rich entails no sacrifice and is therefore entitled to no reward. If what Mr. Veblen says is correct, the sacrifice involved in saving

must be something terrific, because the perpetual craving of the rich is for more and more conspicuous and extravagant expenditure. Indeed, we think that Mr. Veblen exaggerates the strength of the motive of ostentation ; it does not seem to have occurred to him that rich people do actually derive a certain amount of enjoyment from their luxuries apart from the feeling of satisfaction at impressing other people. Nevertheless there is a great deal of truth in what he says, and he is on the right line when he draws attention to the unfair distribution of wealth between the producer and the exploiter. This is an injustice however that could be remedied without recourse to the drastic step of annihilating the leisure class, which, it must not be forgotten, performs many valuable services for the community. Mr. Veblen apparently makes no allowance for the innumerable achievements in literature, science and art that would have been impossible had it not been for the existence of a leisure class.

The Vested Interests and the Common Man was written twenty years later than *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, and though the pyrotechnics of the mature Mr. Veblen are not quite so dazzling as those of the youthful Mr. Veblen they are still quite bright. The later book explains the method by which the leisure class—now called the "kept class"—derives its income under the modern industrial system. The underlying principles that rule the world of industry to-day, it is explained, were settled in the eighteenth century, and are now completely out of date owing to the fundamental changes which have taken place in industrial technique as well as in the spheres of banking and finance. In Adam Smith's time, industry controlled business ; now, business controls industry. The result is that production is not pushed to its furthest point, but is limited and restrained so as to ensure that the article manufactured will sell at the price which allows for the greatest margin over the prime costs of production. This margin provides the income of the kept class, who have consequently a vested interest in under-production, which is the cause of high prices and unemployment.

Mr. Veblen emphasizes one point which ought to be of much interest to Irish readers at the present moment, namely, that protection is simply one of the devices to which a capitalist society resorts in order to limit output in the interests of the kept class—merely an alternative method of business like sabotage. He shows, moreover, that the net margin of advantage to those who profit by the protective tariff is greatly less than what it costs the community, and that it must therefore be reckoned a loss to

the nation considered as a whole. The right to impose tariffs is exactly analogous to the right to go to war; both are survivals of eighteenth century conceptions of natural liberty, which are out of date to-day because of the increased complexity and interdependence of international relations. Nobody denies nations these rights, but nobody should shut his eyes to the fact that their exercise causes damage to the nation which employs them as well as to those against whom they are directed. "It is a divine right of the nation to use its discretion to cripple its own commerce and the commerce of its neighbours for the benefit of those vested interests that are domiciled within the national frontiers."

On the general advantages of national independence Mr. Veblen has some very unpleasant things to say, which certainly "give one furiously to think"; and his whole book should act as a salutary shock to everybody who views with complacency the institutions and the ideals that are currently accepted in the world to-day. On the constructive side, unfortunately, Mr. Veblen is not so illuminating; his constructive ideas are as vague and undefined as his critical ideas are clear and trenchant. G. O'B.

AN INTERNATIONAL YEAR-BOOK OF CHILD-CARE AND PROTECTION. Compiled by Edward Fuller, with Introduction by Percy Alden, M.P. Published for the *Save the Children Fund* by Longmans Green & Co. 1924. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The compiler of this book, who is Secretary of the *Save the Children Fund*, proposes to describe the extent to which the welfare of children is cared for in all the countries of the world. He gives us accounts of some 350 states from Abyssinia to Venezuela, including such places as the Bahrein Islands, Buryat, Gozo, Iraq, Kedah, Surinam, etc. We cannot but think that his energy might have been better employed. He must have seen from the beginning that the information to be got from the vast majority of the 350 states would be inevitably incomplete and unreliable. Even in dealing with countries easily communicated with, the information is skimpy and unilluminating. For instance, as regards Ireland, the figure (69 per 1,000) of the infantile mortality rate, even if correct, is of little significance without a distinction between city and rural districts. The statement that there are in the Free State four Universities is inaccurate; while the account given of the child-welfare activities is vague and lop-sided. Much the same criticism might be applied to the accounts given about Belgium, Holland, Austria, etc. This was the necessary result of the absurdly wide scope of the book.

Child-welfare in its quasi-technical sense means the efforts made by states, civic authorities and voluntary organisations to directly combat the sickness and mortality which affect the children of the poorer classes. Had attention been strictly confined to this subject, and that too in the case of only a dozen or so of the more important countries, the 450 pages of this book could have been made to supply an amount of fairly complete and accurate information, which would have been of great interest and suggestiveness. In treating of each country the compiler puts under several headings, such as "Marriage," "Education," "Employment," "Delinquency," etc., accounts of many subjects which only indirectly affect the welfare of children, and which are, of course, dealt with in a very generalised and uninstructive way. L. McK.

Books also received:

ALLGEIER, ARTHUR Religiöse Volksströmungen der Gegenwart. (Herder, 3/–).

ARCHER-HIND, MRS. The Paston Letters. Two vols. Everyman's Library. Nos. 752-753. (Dent, 2/– each).

BAKER, ERNEST ... A History of the English Novel. From the Beginnings to the Renaissance. (Witherby, 16/–).

BELLOC, HILAIRE ... Economics for Helen. (Arrowsmith, 5/–).

BENNETT, ARNOLD ... Elsie and the Child. (Cassell, 7/6).

BENNETT, HENRY ... A Short Visit to the Homeland of Jesus and Mary. (Sands, 2/–).

BODKIN, THOMAS ... A Guide to Caper. (Chatto & Windus, 5/–).

BOYLAN, PATRICK ... The Psalms. A Study of the Vulgate Psalter in the light of the Hebrew Text. Vol. II. (Gill, 17/6).

BROSNAN, WILLIAM God and Reason (Fordham University Press, $2.00).

BUONAIUTI, ERNESTO Gnostic Fragments (Williams & Norgate, 3/6).

BURNET, JOHN ... Euthrypho, Apology, and Crito of Plato. (Milford, 8/6).

CRISTIANI, L. ... Le Bienheureux Pierre Canisius. (Gabalda, 4 fr.).

CUTHBERT, FATHER The Romanticism of St. Francis. 2nd ed. (Longmans, 10/6).

DEDIEU, JOSEPH ... Histoire politique des Protestants français. (Gabalda, 25 fr.).

DINNIS, ENID ... More Mystics. (Sands, 2/–).

DONOVAN, JOHN ... The *Logia* in ancient and recent Literature. (Heffer, 2/–).

DUDLEY, OWEN ... Will Men be like Gods? (Longmans, 2/–).

FELDER, HILARIN ... Christ and the Critics. Vol. II. (Burns, O. W., 12/6).

FELDMAN, ASHER ... The Parables and Similes of the Rabbis. (Cambridge University Press, 7/6).

FITZPATRICK, JOHN Hymns from the Liturgy. (Burns, O. W., 3/6).

FOX, CHARLES J. ... Speeches. Edited by Irene C. Willis, M.A. Everyman's Library, No. 759. (Dent, 2/–).

FULLER, EDWARD ... An International Year-Book of Child Care. (Longmans, 7/6).

GLOVER, T. R. ... Herodotus. (Cambridge University Press, 18/-).

GOYAU, GEORGES ... Les Origines religieuses du Canada. (Grasset, 7 fr. 50).

GRABMANN, MARTIN Das Seelenleben des hl. Thomas von Aquin. (Munich: Theatiner-Verlag, M. 2).

GUILLOUX, PIERRE ... Les plus belles pages d'Ernest Hello. (Perrin, 7 fr.).

HASLUCK, F. W. ... Athos and its Monasteries. (Kegan Paul, 12/6).

JANSENS, BERNHARD Wege der Weltweisheit. (Herder, 9/–).

KLARWILL, VICTOR ... The Fugger News-Letters. (Lane, 16/–).

KOFFKA, KURT ... The Growth of the Mind. An Introduction to Child-Psychology. (Kegan Paul, 15/–).

Books also received—*continued.*

KUENSTLE, KARL ... Reichenau. Seine berümhtesten Aebte, Lehrer und Theologen. (Herder, 1/8).

LOCKE, JOHN ... Two Treatises of Civil Government. Everyman's Library, No. 751. (Dent, 2/–).

LOWRIE, WALTER ... Problems of Church Unity. (Longmans, 9/–).

MACAIGNE, RENE ... La Création. (Beauchesne, 5 fr.).

MACKENZIE, COMPTON Santa Claus in Summer. (Constable, 7/6).

MACKINNON, JAMES... The Constitutional History of Scotland. (Longmans, 16/–).

MACMANUS, M. J. ... A Jackdaw in Dublin. (Talbot Press, 1/–).

MARKS, PERCY ... The Plastic Age. (Selwyn & Blount, 7/6).

MOCQUEREAU, ANDRE Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican, publiés en fac-similés phototypiques. Nos. 114-115. (Desclée, 75 fr. par an).

MONNIN, ALFRED ... The Curé of Ars. (Sands, 21/–).

O CUIV, SHAN ... Fuaimeanna agus Blas na Gaedhilge. (Brún & O Noláin, 8*d.*).

ODDIE, F. C. ... Monica's Mistakes. (Burns, O. W., 3/6).

O'DWYER, ROBERT Benediction Music, No. 2—*O Salutaris*; No. 3—*Deus Tu Conversus*. (Browne & Nolan, 1/– each).

O'RAHILLY, CECILE The Pursuit of Gruaidh Ghriannsholus. (Irish Texts Society, 25/-).

PASTOR, LUDWIG ... Geschichte der Päpste. Band III. 1. Ed. V.-VII., revised and enlarged. (Herder, 18/–).

PENNEY, NORMAN ... The Journal of George Fox. Everyman's Library. (Dent, 2/–).

POPE, ALEXANDER ... Collected Poems. Everyman's Library, No. 760. (Dent, 2/–).

POURRAT, P. ... Christian Spirituality during the Middle Ages. (Burns, O. W., 10/6).

ROBERTS, CANON W. Livy's History of Rome. Vols. V.-VI. Translated. Everyman's Library, Nos. 755-756. (Dent, 2/– each).

ROBERTS, MORLEY ... The Western Avernus. Everyman's Library, No. 762. (Dent, 2/–).

SIEGFRIED, FRANCIS Essentialia Philosophiae. (Dolphin Press, $1.80).

STEPHENS, JAMES ... In the Land of Youth. (Macmillan, 7/6).

SWIFT, DEAN ... The Journal to Stella. Newly deciphered and edited by J. K. Moorhead. Everyman's Library, No. 757. (Dent, 2/–).

SYLVESTRE, NOEL ... The Sacrament of Silence. (Sheldon Press, 3/6).

TELCH, C. ... Epitome Theologiae Moralis. Ed. sexta. (Innsbruck: Rauch, M. 4).

THOULESS, R. H. ... The Lady Julian. A Psychological Study. (S.P.C.K., 4/6).

TIXERONT, J. ... L'Ordre et les Ordinations. Etude de Théologie historique (Gabalda, 8 fr.).

TOWNSEND, R. S. ... Short Stories by Russian Authors. Everyman's Library (Dent, 2/–).

TROLLOPE, ANTHONY The Golden Lion of Granpère. Everyman's Library. (Dent, 2/–).

WALSH, JAMES J. ... The World's Debt to the Catholic Church. (Boston: Stratford Co., $2.00).

WATTS, NEVILE ... Love Songs of Sion. A Selection of Devotional Verse from Old English Sources. (Burns, O. W., 5/–).

WELLS, H. G. ... A Short History of the World. (Labour Publishing Co., 1/6 (paper).

WHITE, E. M. ... Woman in World History. Her Place in the Great Religions. (H. Jenkins, 8/6).

[ANONYMOUS] ... Life as I saw it. (Kegan Paul, 7/–).

[ANONYMOUS] ... The Modern Literary Course. (Gill, 2/6).

Life of Cornelia Connelly: Foundress of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. By a Religious of the Society. Second ed., revised and abridged. (Longmans, 7/6).

Ten Eager Hearts and other Stories. By a Sister of Notre Dame. (Sands, 2/6).

Loreto Manual. Compiled for use of pupils educated by Religious of the Institute of the B.V.M. (Gill, 4/–).

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